INTERPOLATED LYRIC IN MEDIEVAL NARRATIVE POETRY

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Interpolated Lyric in Medieval Narrative Poetry

My doctoral research concerns the use of song within narrative works in the Middle Ages. I have concentrated first on the substantial tradition in Old French of incorporating songs in this manner; and second, on the importance of this tradition to Chaucer, a poet who includes songs in nearly all his narrative poetry, and who was deeply familiar with many of the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century French works of this type. In order to demonstrate the connection between this very large range of French narratives and Chaucer, it has been necessary first to define the French tradition on its own terms, since even by French scholars it has rarely been treated collectively, and some of the works have barely been explored. This assessment of the French material has involved a fresh attempt to define the lyric interpolations themselves, when (as in the majority of thirteenth-century works) they take the form of brief snatches of song known as refrains. Since the nature of these refrains has been a source of controversy among French scholars, my study begins by analysing them both as texts and as melodies, in order to assess their status and function within the narratives. I then go on to discuss works ranging from Jean Renart's Guillaume de Dole to Adam de la Halle's Le Jeu de Robin et Marion, to the dits amoureux of Machaut and Froissart.

The influence of this French tradition upon Chaucer is examined first of all in Chaucer's early poems, through his direct knowledge and assimilation of Machaut and Froissart and other contemporary French poets. It is then traced, more indirectly, through Chaucer's reading of Boccaccio and Boethius. I thus consider Chaucer's use of Boccaccio's Il Filostrato in the light of Boccaccio's own knowledge of this French tradition from his position in the Angevin court of Naples. In addition, by investigating French translations of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae, I examine the structural importance of this work as a prosimetrum both upon French narratives containing songs, and upon Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde. In this way I aim to show that the influences upon his practice of combining lyric and narrative are both multiple and multiply connected.

The aim of this dissertation is therefore two-fold: first, to contribute to the understanding of a substantial but little-known area of French studies, and second, to renew the discussion of Chaucer's relation to French love poetry by seeing his work as a late medieval development in England of a distinctive, and distinctively French mode of composition. Throughout the course of my work, my wider interest is in the way in which the juxtaposition of the two categories of lyric and narrative shows us that our understanding of medieval genre is in need of refinement. In particular, by taking account of the presence of musical notation in the manuscripts of several of the French narratives, I hope to suggest that some of our assumptions about the 'literary' nature of medieval genres should be revised, especially as works of this type often seem composed precisely in order to create and exploit contrasts of genre of a musical, as well as a poetic kind.
Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. It does not exceed the regulation length, including notes, references and appendices, but excluding the bibliography.

December 10th, 1987
Acknowledgements

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## CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations

*Introduction* 1

1 The problem of the *refrain* in thirteenth-century romance 8
   I The evidence of the Prologues 8
   II The types of song contained in thirteenth-century romance 12
   III The nature of the *refrain* 15
      a. Texts
      b. Melodies
   IV Dance-song and the *refrain* 30
      a. The *refrain* and the *rondet de carole*
      b. The nature of the *refrain* in romance

2 The realisation of the *refrain* in thirteenth-century romance 47
   I Early thirteenth-century examples 48
   II Private and public: *grand chant* and dance-song in *Guillaume de Dole* 52
   III The *refrain* as a poetic device in the *Roman de la Violette* 60
   IV The later thirteenth century: *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* 67
   V ‘The Arras School’ 70

3 From *roman* to *dit*: song in the French love narrative 87
   I The *roman courtois* 88
   II *Refrains* in the first-person love *dits, saluts* and *complaintes* 99
   III The *dit amoureux*: Nicole de Margival to Guillaume de Machaut 113

4 The consolation of song: Machaut, Froissart and Chaucer 134
   I Northern France and England: the ‘Hainault’ connection 135
   II Consolation and song in the *dits amoureux* of Machaut and Froissart 136
   III The *Book of the Duchess* and contemporary elegy 149
   IV The problem of the Knight’s ‘compleynte’ 155
   V Song and the treatment of death in the *Book of the Duchess* 158

5 Song in the sources of *Troilus and Criseyde* 170
   I The fifteenth-century scribal view of *Troilus* 171
   II Boccaccio and the Court of Naples 179
   III Boethius: French translations of the *Consolation* 194
   IV The *prosimetrum* form of the *Consolation* 203
6 Song and sentiment in *Troilus and Criseyde*

I The Proems
II Song and the structure of Book III
III *Troilus* and the Boethian use of song
IV Antigone's song and internal debate

Notes

Appendix A: Indications of musical notation in French narrative works
Appendix B: The songs in Chaucer's narrative works

Bibliography
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>BBSIA</td>
<td>Bulletin bibliographique de la société internationale arthurienne</td>
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<tr>
<td>BECh</td>
<td>Bibliotheque de l'école des Chart.es</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFMA</td>
<td>Classiques français du moyen âge</td>
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<td>CL</td>
<td>Comparative Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMM</td>
<td>Corpus mensurabilis musicae</td>
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<td>CR</td>
<td>Chaucer Review de</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSM</td>
<td>Corpus scriptorum/musicorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>EETS</td>
<td>Early English Text Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>FMLS</td>
<td>Forum for Modern Language Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>GLML</td>
<td>Garland Library of Medieval Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRL</td>
<td>Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur</td>
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<tr>
<td>HLF</td>
<td>Histoire littéraire de la France</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAMS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Musicological Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEGP</td>
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<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>Musica Disciplina</td>
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<td>MHRA</td>
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<td>PL</td>
<td>Patrologia Latina</td>
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<td>PMFC</td>
<td>Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</td>
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<tr>
<td>RF</td>
<td>Romanische Forschungen</td>
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<td>RILM</td>
<td>Répertoire internationale de littérature musicale</td>
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<td>RP</td>
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<td>SATF</td>
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<td>YES</td>
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<td>ZFSL</td>
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<td>ZRP</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</td>
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INTRODUCTION

The practice of lyric interpolation in the Middle Ages is so widespread as virtually to defy the label ‘tradition’. Examples of song are set into works not only from a large range of European languages (for example, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish, French and English), but from all categories of composition, sacred and secular, fiction and non-fiction, verse and prose, drama, lyric and narrative. No attempt has yet been made, and none will be made here, to treat the topic comprehensively: this would be beyond the scope of a single thesis, or book. More selectively, two areas of study have been chosen, which together form both the most clearly definable, and the most substantial tradition in the period. I have chosen to discuss, firstly, works written in French during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from the self-proclaimed initiator of the device, Jean Renart, to the celebrated poet-musician Guillaume de Machaut, and his disciple Jean Froissart. Secondly, I consider the importance of inset song in two of Chaucer’s narrative works: his earliest, and most heavily French-influenced dream-vision, the Book of the Duchess, and his major love poem, Troilus and Criseyde. In the case of Troilus and Criseyde, I also take into account the use of song in his primary Italian and Latin sources: Boccaccio’s Il Filostrato, and Boethius’ Consolation of Philosophy.

The choice of two complementary kinds of study - the French narratives and Chaucer - is a deliberate attempt to demonstrate the breadth and diversity of the tradition. At the same time, a sense of continuity is derived from the fact that Chaucer’s handling of song in the two works which I discuss, is in large part to be understood as a complex response to the use of song in his French reading. Moreover, by examining ways in which the French tradition infiltrates Chaucer’s appreciation of both Il Filostrato and the Consolation, it will become clear that the influences of mixed lyric-narrative structures are multiple, and multiply connected. In this way, this thesis aims to show a broad coherence between works from distinct medieval cultures.

That inset songs are at all characteristic of Chaucer’s narrative poetry may not be apparent, even to a Chaucerian. Few have attempted such a claim: even R.H. Robbins, who
has devoted most of his attention to the Middle English lyric, isolates only five definite examples of song in Chaucer’s narrative poetry, although he alludes cautiously to several others identified by A.K. Moore and R.O. Payne. Robbins prefers to concentrate on Chaucer’s short poems, which, as he demonstrates, are heavily dependent on contemporary French lyric models. Only about twenty of Chaucer’s lyrics have survived, although it seems reasonable to assume, in view of the testimony of Lydgate and Gower, that he wrote many more which have been lost. J.I. Wimsatt even speculates that Chaucer could well have written some in French.

Yet it is difficult to understand the reason for such tentativeness. For instance, in the first place, Chaucer makes numerous references to popular song throughout his longer works, not all of which have been identified. But, more significantly, he includes many lyric pieces of some length, which are often distinguished formally from their narrative context. Of these, the most famous examples are the roundel at the end of the *Parliament of Fowls*, the two songs in the *Book of the Duchess*, the ballade 'Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere' in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, and the "Canticus Troilli" of Book I of *Troilus and Criseyde* (which was circulated independently in the fifteenth century). To this we would need to add the metrical showpiece of Anelida’s ‘compleynte’ in *Anelida and Arcite*, also framed by a narrative (albeit unfinished), and the six-stanza Envoy to the *Clerk’s Tale*, described in the narrative as a "song", and written in six-line stanzas rather than the rhyme royal of the Tale proper.

While these interpolated songs are unambiguous in nature, since they are formally isolable, the identification of songs which are not distinguished formally from the narrative, such as those in *Troilus*, has not been undertaken with any consistency. Once again, caution has been excessive. Chaucer himself clearly introduces a considerable number of lyric set-pieces in the narrative of *Troilus* as "songs" or "compleyntes". In addition, a highly interesting, and so far untapped guide to near-contemporary interpretation of the poem is provided by the scribes of the *Troilus* manuscripts, who give their own labels to the songs, letters and complaints. Alerted by this view of the poem,
characteristic of fifteenth-century interests in French lyric poetry, we can begin to see the fundamentally French basis of Chaucer’s practice as a whole. We see, for instance, what consistent use Chaucer made of the currently fashionable French genre of complaint. Not only are many of Chaucer’s twenty short poems written as ‘compleyntes’, but many more are included throughout his poetry, such as those of Dido in the *House of Fame*, of Dorigen and Aurelius in the *Franklin’s Tale*, and the numerous ‘compleyntes’ in *Troilus*.

In order to understand the importance of Chaucer’s use of complaint and other lyric types, we need only to recognise that the practice of mixing song and narrative was common to nearly all the French *dits amoureux* with which he was most familiar. Although Chaucer’s reading of French poetry has been examined in considerable detail, this point has escaped emphasis. Furthermore, the French tradition itself has received very little attention, even from French scholars. Appreciation of this prominent feature of Chaucer’s narrative poetry thus requires a thorough assessment of the tradition in France.

Renart’s use of song in *Guillaume de Dole* (c.1228) gave rise by the fifteenth century to over seventy narrative works with lyric interpolations. Clearly, when so many works are involved, some further process of selection is necessary to avoid an endless march of names and plot summaries. Concentrating on French material, in the first place, leads to the omission, for instance, of Ulrich von Lichtenstein’s *Frauendienst* (c.1255), Dante’s *Vita Nuova* (1292-94) and Juan Ruiz’ *Libro de buen amor* (1330), works of mixed genre in Provençal, and Latin, Icelandic sagas, chronicles, saints’ lives and sermons. But in addition, I will be leaving aside the immense prose Arthurian romances, such as the prose *Tristan* (c.1215-35), the drama (such as the extended fourteenth-century series of *Miracles de Nostre Dame*), and the thirteenth-century chantefable, *Aucassin et Nicolette*. There is a coherence about the Arthurian tradition which deserves special treatment; similarly, drama is too large a topic to be dealt with satisfactorily in a thesis concerned primarily with narrative. *Aucassin et Nicolette* may seem a more inexcusable omission: once again, a brief mention would have been inadequate. In particular, I hope that this attempt to deal thoroughly with other narratives from the thirteenth century will provide an implicit context for *Aucassin*, and thus scope for further, more informed research. While drama in
general is not covered, at the same time many aspects of this thesis concern the performance of narratives containing songs, and thus aim to open up discussion of the dramatic to include these other medieval secular compositions. Since one of the main preoccupations of my work is to show how the creation of hybrid forms provokes discussion about the nature of genre, I have felt it important, in any case, not to specify too rigidly in advance a definition of narrative.

A final comment on the scope of this study concerns the prosimetrum tradition. There have been some accounts (although not at book-length) of its relevance to Aucassin and Chaucer's Boece. It is in itself a highly diverse tradition, in which the connections, especially between Classical satire and the Middle Ages are often tenuous. While not attempting to consider it properly myself, I have, all the same, taken account of Boethius when his Consolation clearly impinges structurally upon French narrative works and upon Chaucer. It has long been observed how important the Consolation is to the Vita Nuova: evidently the prosimetrum tradition interacts with the vernacular tradition of interpolated lyric. I do not pretend to have done any more than indicate some of the moments in which it does so, through Boethius.

The initial stages of listing and describing the French material have been carried out by N.H.J. van den Boogaard (who concentrated on works containing refrains) and by M.B.M. Boulton, A. Ladd and M.V. Fowler in three recent doctoral dissertations. Boogaard's bibliography of some two thousand refrains provides an excellent textual basis for a study of the refrains contained in romances, as well as making available the wide range of sources in which they occur elsewhere. Boulton has supplemented Boogaard's list of works to make a total of over seventy, and provides plot summaries of nearly all of them. However, both her study and Ladd's (which deals with only a small selection of thirteenth-century works) are restricted by the narrow view which they take of the "literary functions" which they see the songs as fulfilling. The third thesis, by Fowler, has a different emphasis from the other two, since she aims to deal with the problems of editing the surviving melodies of the interpolated songs (first undertaken, only in part, and
somewhat unsatisfactorily by Gennrich). She thus raises questions about the nature of the narratives as works partly performed with music which neither Boulton nor Ladd consider in any way.

Her own study is nonetheless limited by her concentration on those romances which either contain musical notation themselves, or for which corresponding notational sources can be found elsewhere. No attempt then, has yet been made to consider this huge range of works containing songs from both a literary and musical point of view. Moreover, none of these studies gives any overall account of the historical connections between the works, so that as yet there is only an isolated sense of when and where these works were written, still less of whether their authors were at all conscious of participating in a specific tradition.

Boogaard’s work, in addition, makes plain that questions about the nature of the songs themselves are still very open. For while some of the thirteenth-century French narratives contain stanzas of well-known troubadour and trouvère songs, the large majority are interspersed with two- or three-line snatches of song known as refrains - sometimes as many as fifty or sixty in any one narrative poem. These refrains were first studied by the great nineteenth-century French scholars Jeanroy and Bédier, who tried to decide whether they were actual ‘refrains’ broken off from larger songs, or whether they were, in some way, complete songs in themselves. They came to conflicting conclusions, and it was not until Boogaard’s pioneering bibliography of refrains in 1969 that any real advance could be made.8

The interest of Boogaard’s work is the way it allows the refrain to be perceived for the first time as a genre in its own right. His detailed cross-referencing of the many citations of single refrains across all kinds of lyric, dramatic and narrative works acts like a map, revealing previously undiscovered habits of composition that were characteristic of thirteenth-century poets and musicians. Once alerted to the way in which small isolable texts and melodies form a mobile and constantly shifting stock of compositional material in the period, we begin to understand the freedom with which genres were conceived in the thirteenth century, and how widespread the interest in mixing and
re-aligning them.

The idea of the refrain as a distinct genre seems to have been current in the Middle Ages. The term "refret / refrain / refrains" (refractus) is well attested; in addition, the manuscript index to the Roman de Fauvel (which contains fifty refrains) lists "reffrez de chancon" as a separate category alongside "rondeaux" and "balades". It is intriguing to find the genre of the romance with lyric interpolations also given its own term in the 1328 inventory of the deceased Queen Clémence of Hungary. Listed among her "Livres de Chappelle, Roumans et autres Livres" is the following: "Item, un roumans de chançons noté, présié 20s." This provides some evidence, in other words, that the practice of inserting songs into narrative was considered, by the fourteenth century, to be not merely a device, but a means to create a new type of work.

By looking at these works as formal and generic hybrids, we are given an understanding of how medieval poets themselves thought about genre. We find medieval poets using the juxtaposition of lyric and narrative as an opportunity to comment upon their composition as a whole. The lyrics provide moments of stasis within the narrative flow, in which a character reflects upon his own situation, or the poet comments directly upon the events he is describing; or else the poet uses another poet's lyric verse to summarise, vindicate or re-express his own. In this way lyrics act as a natural opportunity for analysis and commentary, undertaken during the very course of the work.

Particularly in the work of fourteenth-century poets, the combination of genres within a single composition thus becomes a means by which modern readers can understand at first hand how medieval poets thought of their own work. Indeed it is part of my argument to demonstrate that the very nature of a hybrid composition in the middle ages provoked discussion about rhetorical types, poetic technique, poetic authority and self-presentation, in short, aspects of what we would now call literary criticism. The many examples of this include the way in which some trouvère songs are quoted from narrative to narrative, so that they accumulate a range of interpretations. Or again, in Jehan Acart de Hesdin's La Prise Amoureuse, and the love narratives of Machaut and Froissart, the changes
in form between narrative and lyric (and also prose letters) are used to present more than one view of the experience being described. In other words, the change in form itself represents a change in perspective and hence interpretation.

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that just as our understanding of Chaucer is at least partly dependent upon the study of French sources and analogues, our appreciation of French narratives containing songs would be incomplete without taking into account the surviving musical notation for the songs. To allow music into the discussion of these works, is to suggest ways of widening the topic further: for it prompts us to reconsider and refine some of the assumptions often held about the 'literary' nature of medieval genres, particularly as works of this type often seem composed precisely in order to create and exploit contrasts of genre of a musical as well as a poetic kind.
CHAPTER ONE

The problem of the refrain in thirteenth-century romance

I The evidence of the Prologues

Jean Renart may not have been the first French poet to insert lyrics into a romance, but he certainly seemed to think he was, or at least to want to claim that he was. In the Prologue to his Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole (probably written between 1215 and 1228) he conveys a strong sense of his own originality:

\[
einsi a il chans et sons mis \\
en cestui Romans de la Rose, \\
qui est une novele chose \\
et s'est des autres si divers \\
et brodez, par lieus, de biaus vers \\
que vilains nel porroit savoir. \quad (10-15)
\]

Here he announces quite clearly that his romance is "something new" since it is "embroidered" with "fine verses" set with both words and music ("chans et sons") into the plot. By concentrating so exclusively on his decision to incorporate songs, Renart's Prologue offers a very interesting range of evidence. It shows not only what Renart thought would attract his audience, but also his own view of the role of the songs within his roman. He tells us why he included them, how they fitted into the roman from both a musical and literary point of view, and how they influenced the way the work as a whole was to be performed.

Renart soon had many imitators. The closest, both in date and kind, was Gerbert de Montreuil in his Roman de la Violette (written c.1228-30). The two works have much in common: not only do they contain a comparable number and range of lyrics (Guillaume de Dole has forty-six, the Roman de la Violette has thirty-nine), but some of the lyrics are identical. The songs fall into two main categories: chansons courtoises composed by well-known trouvères such as Gace Brulé, and more traditional, anonymous pieces which include rondets de carole, pastourelles and chansons de toile. Both romances also have a similar plot (the flower in the title of each work plays the same role in each story). Moreover,
Gerbert seems to model his Prologue on Renart's: imitating Renart's sense of being innovatory, he puts forward the same reasons for the novelty and value of his roman, and in similar phraseology.

From the evidence of both poets, then, we can draw several conclusions. First of all, they were aware that the songs had a courtly value capable of lending itself to the romans. Thus Gerbert remarks proudly:

Mainte courtoise chançonnete
Orrois, ains que li contes fine (46-47)

Renart phrases his claim also in commercial terms by comparing the effect of the songs to the way in which dye increases the value of cloth:

car aussi com l'en met la graine
es dras por avoir los et pris, 
einsi a il chans et sons mis
en cestui Romans de la Rose (8-11)

Secondly, and perhaps unexpectedly, both Renart and Gerbert appear very concerned to point out the difference that the songs will make to the performance of their romans. Thus Renart boasts:

Ja nuls n'iert de l'oir lassez,
car, s'en vieult, l'en i chante et lit,  
et s'est fez par si grant delit 
que tuit cil s'en esjoi'ront 
qui chanter et lire l'orront,  
qu'il lor sera nouviaus toz jors. (18-23)

Gerbert follows suit:

Et s'est li contes biaus et gens, 
Que je vous voel dire et conter, 
Car on i puet lire et chanter; (36-38)

The songs not only have value in themselves, they make it possible for the romance to be both sung and read, something which both poets are convinced will appeal to their audiences ("tuit cil s'en esjoiront/ qui chanter et lire l'orront").

For anyone interested in the way in which these romans à chansons were performed, it is particularly noteworthy to find it an explicit topic of discussion in these two Prologues. Terms describing performance such as lire, chanter, dire, conter, noter, chans, sons are usually those which are used most interchangeably by medieval writers. Yet
Renart, in particular, gives his comments a remarkably specific emphasis. For instance, in this case, supported by Gerbert, he makes a clear distinction between "lire" and "chanter", and indeed treats it as a point of pride that one can do both in his romance.6

The point would hardly need emphasis except that no music actually appears in the manuscripts of the two works.7 M.Fowler, in a recent thesis, suggests that the audience or performer would have been expected to know the music for these well-known songs by heart. However, there is no reason to disbelieve Renart's claim that he has had the songs "noted" in the romance (both the "chans et sons"):

Cil qui mist cest conte en romans,
ou il a fet noter biaus chans
por ramenbrane des chançons...(1-3)

and ainsi a il chans et sons mis
en cestui Romans de la Rose (10-11)

In view of these remarks, the absence of music could be simply a matter of the scribe who wrote out the manuscript not having access to someone who knew musical notation.8

It is appropriate here to consider a third Prologue, to a work in which the interpolated songs are provided with musical notation. Gautier de Coinci's Les Miracles de Notre Dame is superficially a very different work: an extended series of Marian legends in four Books, with groups of songs set in between.9 However, he composed the work at a period very closely contemporary with Guillaume de Dole (between 1218 and 1233), and these songs are in fact pious contrafacta, modelled structurally upon, and set to, the melodies of a large range of contemporary trouvére chansons, pastourelles, chansons de mal mariées and refrains. In range then, the songs are closely imitative of those in Guillaume de Dole or the Roman de la Violette, and even include refrains from the 'Bele Aelis' group.10

The connections between the songs in the Miracles and in the two romans are close enough to imply that if music occurs in one, it was intended in the others. In his Prologues (one before the first, the other before the third Book), Gautier is dismissive of lewd, secular songs. His manner implies that he has in mind just such a work as Guillaume de Dole. For instance, he specifically mentions for disapproval songs with dance-song characters (like those in Guillaume de Dole) such as Tyebregon and Emmelot
(III, 324), Marot and Maroye (III, 330). "Karoles" he describes (in the tones of the preacher Stephen Langton) as "gabois et legeries" and "chans de lecheries" (III, 348-50); as songs more fit for devils to sing than for clerks. Rather than these, his own songs are "pitez et doz". Like Renart, he describes their relation to his narratives in a vivid metaphor: they are not like dye enriching fine cloth, but sweet-scented flowers which he has strewn throughout his "livre" to give it fragrance (I, 32-38). As if in further parody of Renart's Prologue, Gautier also emphasises the performance of his work, which, it seems, he intends to carry out himself:

Or veit atant traire ma lire
Et temprer vei ma vlele,
Se chanterai de la pucele... (I, 56-58)

Gautier appears to be attempting not only to parody secular songs, but to rewrite in religious terms the new genre of the roman à chansons, even as it was founded.

The two Prologues by Renart and Gerbert contain one further claim of interest with respect to the relation between the songs and the narrative. Both poets make a point of explaining that the songs and the romance will "accord" well together. Renart writes:

s'est avis a chascun et samble
que cil qui a fet le romans
qu'il trovast toz les moz des chans,
si afierent a ceuls del conte. (26-29)

There is an implicit admission here, of course, that Renart did not compose the songs himself. But the boast (that the audience will think that the songs are his after all) conceals a more intriguing claim concerning the way in which he has threaded the narrative and songs together. He wants to be admired for his skill in matching songs and plot: his skill, in short, in interpolation, something that he sees in essentially verbal terms (28-29). Presumably, then, he expected the audience to pay close attention to the words of the songs as they listened, as well as to enjoy the contrast in performance which they provided.

Gerbert's parallel remark implies a similar expectation, although he puts it in more cryptic terms than Renart:

Et si est si bien acordans
Li cans au dit, les entendans
En trait a garant que di voir. (39-41)

Again it seems to be a claim made with some flourish; not a claim, in a sense, so much as a challenge to the audience to decide for themselves, as they listen, how well the songs "agree" with the romance. It is unfortunate for us, forced to read the work rather than hear it performed, that it is a challenge which we cannot take up.

Both these Prologues differ significantly from the usual introductory remarks to a roman d'aventure. Le Comte de Poitiers, for example, a probable source for the Roman de la Violette, but which does not contain any songs, begins straightaway with the story. Some kind of flattering reference towards a patron is common, as in Chrétien de Troyes' Li Contes del Graal or Chevalier de la Charrette. But the Prologues to Guillaume de Dole, the Roman de la Violette and the Miracles single themselves out as being Prologues concerned with questions of style: ones in which their authors are concerned to promote their poetic method, rather than the story.

From all three Prologues we can see that the inclusion of songs within a romance immediately prompted reflection about the poetic genre of the resulting new hybrid. From the first, discussion was initiated of the rhetorical aptness of the songs: how they would add ornament to the work ("brodez" Guillaume de Dole, 14; "enflorer" Miracles, I, 44), and how, both verbally and musically, they were designed to complement the romance. This in turn occasioned a discussion of performance practice: of the songs as melodies, and how they would change the way in which the romance as a whole was performed. Lyric interpolation thus led poets to consider in a new way, and openly to discuss, aspects of genre and compositional style. It is characteristic of Renart that he should parade these possibilities even as he introduced them.

II The types of song contained in thirteenth-century romance

The joint nature of this enquiry - musical and verbal - needs to be stressed because to date, these romances have been prey to specialist interests in either song or narrative. Musicologists, and specialists in lyric genres, finding Guillaume de Dole, for
instance, to be the earliest or even unique source for some types of song, have tended to pluck out the songs from their romance surroundings, returning to the narrative only for the sake of gleaning more hints about the songs.\textsuperscript{14} Literary historians, conversely, while they have considered the songs to relate to the romances in poetic terms, have regarded all musical considerations as either secondary or irrelevant.\textsuperscript{15} Yet this makes their approach not simply incomplete, but one that from the first misconceives the nature of the songs. This misconception casts doubt upon the appropriateness of an exclusively "literary" approach, and begs the question of what a "literary" approach to the nature of song might be.

This becomes apparent as soon as we turn to the songs themselves. Here, we discover that, in certain respects, neither \textit{Guillaume de Dole} nor the \textit{Roman de la Violette} can safely be regarded as typical of the thirteenth-century narratives which contain songs. For although \textit{Guillaume de Dole} has frequently been described as the work which set the fashion of including songs within long narrative works, a fashion which lasted until well into the fifteenth century in both France and England, there are many peculiarities about the way in which this fashion was taken up.\textsuperscript{16}

Two observations are significant. The first is that \textit{Guillaume de Dole} is unusual in the thirteenth century in containing so many different types of lyric - \textit{rondeau}, \textit{refrain}, \textit{chanson d'amour}, \textit{chanson de toile} and \textit{pastourelle} - and in quoting them at length. Even the \textit{Roman de la Violette}, which follows \textit{Guillaume de Dole} closely in many respects, has a considerably reduced range of song types by comparison, while its total of \textit{refrains} has increased from \textit{Guillaume de Dole}'s three to thirty-three. And when it does quote from a \textit{trouvère chanson}, or a \textit{chanson de toile}, it does not quote more than one strophe. It was not until the fourteenth century that poets such as Nicole de Margival, Machaut and Froissart began again to include lyrics from the wide range of newly 'fixed' genres then current, and to quote them in full.\textsuperscript{17} One reason for this was that in the fourteenth century the lyrics tended to be the poet's own compositions, rather than, as earlier, ones borrowed from well-known \textit{trouvères}, or from 'popular' culture.

By contrast, until the beginning of the fourteenth century, most narratives include
only refrains; and while there are some works which contain very large numbers of refrains, there are several again which contain only one or two.\textsuperscript{18} Renart le Nouvel and Baudouin de Condé’s Prison d’Amours contain as many as sixty-five and forty-nine refrains respectively; yet, another work by Baudouin, his Conte de la Rose, includes only one refrain, as does Galeran de Bretagne.\textsuperscript{19}

Thus Renart’s innovative idea was not followed in a consistent fashion. Indeed a considerable proportion of the works in question are sui generis merely by virtue of the fact that they include refrains or other songs at all. To mention just a few examples, the Lai d’Aristote, found amongst a large collection of fabliaux in BN f.fr.837, is the only fabliau in the manuscript to contain songs.\textsuperscript{20} Similarly, one of the manuscripts in which La Court de Paradis is found is otherwise entirely made up of sermons, prayers, and meditational pieces.\textsuperscript{21} La Court de Paradis, a unique work in the way it appropriates a secular court of love with secular love refrains into a religious setting, seems to be included in this devotional manuscript precisely because of its strangeness. It acts as an element of light relief, but one nonetheless kept within the confines of devotional interest.

Renart le Nouvel and the Roman de Fauvel are two further works which are noticeable for their peculiarity. Renart le Nouvel is the only member of the large family of Renart narratives to contain musical interpolations: and again, these sixty-five refrains turn it into a rather different work from its many relatives. It bears a closer relation, in fact, to the Roman de Fauvel, a satirical narrative of the same kind as Renart le Nouvel but with its own set of animal characters, and which contains a more extensive and varied set of musical pieces than any other work in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{22}

In the majority of thirteenth-century works, then, we are dealing not so much with the relation of narrative to a range of song types, as with the relation of narrative to refrain. (Two works which do contain longer lyric forms will be discussed in chapter 3.) This introduces a new set of problems. For the refrain cannot easily be described, either formally or generically. There has been disagreement, even confusion, over its origin; and
while it has generally been taken for granted since the work of French scholars at the turn of the century that the refrain has a strong connection with dance-song, the history of this connection, and its relation to the other contexts for refrain has been little explored. Since the development of French narratives containing songs, in the thirteenth century at least, concerns refrains more than it does any other single lyric genre, we will thus have to begin by considering the refrain. And in view of its obscurity as a phenomenon, we will have to consider it first of all in terms not exclusively confined to romance.

III The nature of the refrain

The repertory of refrains contains many puzzling features. From the Bibliography compiled by the late Nico van den Boogaard, it can be seen that refrains survive in four major kinds of source: in rondeaux, chansons, motets, and in what Boogaard gives the rather loose collective term of romans. By this we must understand an assortment of longer works from romans, dits, contes, fatrasies and fabliaux, to sermons, plays and even two separate proverb collections.23

What seems puzzling (at least at first) is that the refrain has a different character in each of these contexts. Within rondeaux, it acts formally as a "refrain" in its most generally used sense, as, in the words of the OED: "a phrase or verse occurring at intervals, especially at the end of each stanza of a poem or song."24 More specifically, the refrain is usually repeated as a half-unit within the stanza (although this pattern varies considerably in the earliest rondets found in Guillaume de Dole). For this reason the refrain of a rondeau is not something extrinsic to the form, but on the contrary, acts as the distinguishing characteristic of it.

The chansons which contain refrains are of two types generally designated chansons à refrain (or refrain-songs), and chansons-avec-des-refrains. In the former, the refrains occur in the usual way which we have just described with one refrain being repeated at the end of each stanza. This refrain may not be unique to that chanson, however, but may also
occur elsewhere. The *chansons-avec-des-refrains*, on the other hand, have a different *refrain* at the end of each stanza. Each *refrain* may be quite independent metrically from the other *refrains*, it may often have a different number of lines, and it may even have a different tune, not only from the other *refrains* but also from the strophic sections of the song.\(^{25}\)

The kind of independence possessed by the *refrain* in a French *chanson*, and especially in a *chanson-avec-des-refrains*, is even more evident in the other two contexts in which *refrains* appear: motets and long narrative works. The thirteenth-century motet is a genre of often complex verbal and musical construction, composed of three or even four voices based on a *tenor*.\(^{26}\) Originally, the *tenor* was a fragment of liturgical chant, but later in the century motets are written entirely in the vernacular, with the *tenor* taken occasionally from a well known *chanson* or *refrain*. All the voices have separate melodies and texts (some, the *motets centons*, consisting in a patchwork of *refrains* joined together). One group of motets, known as *motets entés*, are encased between the two halves of a *refrain* in such a way that the first line of the *refrain* forms the first line of the motet, and the last line of the *refrain* the last line of the motet. The thirteenth-century motet treats the *refrain* as a point of departure in a composition intended for a musically educated audience, capable of appreciating the subtlety of the composer's musical and verbal ingenuity.

The use of *refrains* in motets as independent units of composition acts in some sense as a musical parallel to the use of *refrains* in romances. However, it is in the *romans* that the *refrain* seems most obviously "out of context" when it is quoted on its own. For here, unlike the other three cases (*rondeau*, *chanson*, and motet), the *refrain* is attached not to a lyric but to a narrative genre, where it is not (usually) repeated at regular intervals.\(^{27}\) The *refrain* in a *roman* seems at the furthest remove from a "refrain" as usually described; and therefore seems to require the more explanation for its inclusion.

It is the fact that *refrains* appear unaltered across all four kinds of source (*rondeau*, *chanson*, motet and *roman*) which most clearly demonstrates their independence. For instance, the following *refrain* occurs in no fewer than eight different contexts:
Its earliest textual context is one of the \textit{rondeaux} contained in \textit{Guillaume de Dole} (532-37). We also find it in another \textit{rondeau} (from a Vatican manuscript) which is itself quoted at the end of the first strophe of the anonymous \textit{pastourelle} "Pensis outre une bruierie" (R1323). The \textit{refrain} occurs in three further \textit{chansons-avec-des-refrains}: the first quotes it at the end of its third strophe, the second after its seventh strophe, and the third after its fourth strophe. In the second song, one of Gautier de Coinci's pious \textit{contrafacta}, the words "Mere Dieu" are substituted for "amie". In addition to the two \textit{rondeaux} and the four \textit{chansons}, the \textit{refrain} appears in two motets. Finally, it can be found in the commentary to a thirteenth-century French prose translation of Ovid's \textit{Ars amatoria}.\textsuperscript{28}

This kind of widespread occurrence is not unusual: as many as twelve \textit{refrains} appear in over six different contexts (one of which, \textit{He, Dieus que ferai ?}, appears in nine separate songs); while many more appear independently at least four times.\textsuperscript{29}

Such a proliferation of sources is considerable evidence that we are dealing with something other than an ordinary "refrain", or, at least, not with what is usually thought of as a subsidiary feature of a complete lyric poem. For a \textit{refrain} to appear so many times on its own suggests that it was popular and memorable in itself, and not simply by virtue of being part of another work. It must have been quotable - known and sung - in its own right. In the case of this particular \textit{refrain} (\textit{Cui lairai ge}), it may also be noted that in one of these eight sources - a \textit{pastourelle} - there is a double incidence of interpolation: in which the stanza to which the \textit{refrain} is attached is itself interpolated into a further work. This again is not unusual.\textsuperscript{30} The practice of interpolation was a common method of composition in the thirteenth century, and was not confined to the interpolation of \textit{refrains}, or even of lyric genres in general, as we know from the use of troped material in liturgical music.\textsuperscript{31} However, as an extreme example of interpolation, the \textit{refrain} is difficult to better.

There has been, nonetheless, a reluctance to describe the \textit{refrain} as a lyric genre in
its own right. Pierre Bec, for instance, in his book *La Lyrique Française au moyen-âge*, which he describes as "une contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux", does not include the *refrain* in his list of nineteen lyric genres. And while Boogaard does make a claim about the status of the *refrain* as a genre ("Car c’est vraiment comme un genre ayant ses propres "lois" que se présente le refrain", p.17), he immediately qualifies this by explaining what it is that distinguishes the *refrain* from other genres. This he characterises by the term *parasite*: something, in other words, that lives "en symbiose avec un autre genre littéraire, que celui-ci soit chanté comme le refrain, ou qu’il ne le soit pas." (p.17) Yet even his first claim is not without qualification: he does not say that the *refrain* is a genre, he says that it is "comme un genre". This carefulness of phrasing does justice perceptively to the way in which a *refrain* will at once behave as an independent entity, yet at the same time take on the colour of its new surrounding. As Boogaard implies, the *refrain* is in the curious position of behaving like a genre, yet a genre in which the most constant characteristic is a dependence on other genres.

a. Texts

The *refrain*’s independence is therefore perhaps its most paradoxical characteristic. A close examination of a large number of similarly worded *refrains* in Boogaard’s *Bibliography* reveals the connections between them to be very complex. Often, it seems, a *refrain* can be broken down into even smaller line-units, with one of its line-units occurring elsewhere in another *refrain*, attached to a new line-unit. Take, for instance, the *refrain* which appears in *Guillaume de Dole* (291) as:

\[E[n] non Deu, sire, se ne l’ai,\]
\[l’amor de lui, mar l’acointai.\] (Boogaard, refr.676)

In this particular two-line combination, the *refrain* appears to be unique. But its second line reappears in the same wording in another *refrain* which occurs three times: in a *pastourelle-avec-des-refrains* by Baude de la Kakerie (R73), a *motet enté* (M1117), and in
Baudouin de Condé’s _Prison d’Amours_ (3118):

\[ \text{Je l’aurai, ou je mourrai,} \\ \text{l’amor de li, mar l’acointai.} \]  
(Boogaard, refr.1056)

The same can be seen in the following two refrains:

\[ \text{Dex, trop demeure; quant vendra?} \\ \text{Loig est, entr’oubliée m’a.} \]  
(Boogaard, refr.576)

and

\[ \text{Diez, trop demeure; quant venra?} \\ \text{Sa demorée m’occirra.} \]  
(Boogaard, refr.577)

Here, allowing for the difference in dialect, it is the first line which is shared. The first refrain (576) has survived in just one _chanson-avec-des-refrains_ (R1700). The second was particularly popular among romance writers: it appears in _Meliacin_ (7), _Renart le Nouvel_ (2792), _Le Tournoi de Chauvency_ (4282) and _L’Abeïe dou Chastel amoureus_ (13). This is no coincidence: for the second refrain implies a greater sense of narrative expectation than the first, since the singer is looking forward impatiently to a character’s arrival, rather than wistfully contemplating someone’s absence. We have here an example of a lyric refrain adapting verbally to its narrative context.

Both these examples show how the refrain can behave like a parasite even towards other refrains, with single lines attaching themselves to other lines to form new refrains. Yet while there is a quite clear distinction between the refrain lines which are identical and those which are unrelated (for instance, the second lines of refrains Nos.576 and 577 are clearly unrelated to each other), there frequently occur clusters of similarly worded refrains in which the difference between a variant and a separate refrain is not at all straightforward. This distinction is not the same as that which Boogaard draws in his Introduction between “variation” and manuscript “variants.” He means the difference between the several manuscript versions of a single refrain - some of which will be more reliable than others - and the kinds of variation which are nothing to do with the exigencies of manuscript transmission, but arise because a refrain has been slightly altered by the poet to fit a new context. The ability to maintain such a distinction is clearly a fundamental task for the editor of refrains. But in addition to this, there is the equally large problem of trying to decide at what point a refrain which has been
altered to fit a new context should be regarded as a separate refrain in its own right.

One of the many curious features of the texts of the refrains is that on the one hand, they exhibit signs of widespread adaptation, but on the other, of fixed repetition. In Doss-Quinby's phrase: they possess "une syntaxe poétique préfabriquée quoique constamment renouvelé" (p.15). Very often a variation will itself be repeated without variation. We can see this with the cluster of refrains which resemble Boogaard, refr.1840:

\[
\text{Vilainnes gens,} \\
\text{vos ne les sentez mie,} \\
\text{les dous malz que je sent.}
\]

This form of words has considerable stability in itself, for it appears seven times in a range of songs, motets and narrative works. There are another three refrains which bear close resemblance to it:

(i)  \[\text{Je les sent, Dex, je les sent,} \\
\text{les maus d'amer doucement.}\] (Boogaard, refr.1058)

(ii)  \[\text{Je les sent, les [douz] maus d'amors}\] (Boogaard, refr.1059)

(iii)  \[\text{Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amor,} \\
\text{si com ge faz.}\] (Boogaard, refr.1865)

The phrasing of all four refrains is intricately connected: all four have the phrase "les [dous] maus [d'amer]", and all contain an emphatic use of the verb "sentir". Nos.1840 and 1865 share the phrase "vos ne les sentez mie"; while Nos.1058 and 1059 share "Je les sent les maus d'amer" - which in turn is related to "que je sent" in No.1840.

In this case, then, we appear to have four refrains of a similarity which suggests that they are unlikely to have been composed independently of each other. Of course, this cannot be proved, and many questions remain about the process of composition. Was one of them the "original", the other three variations arising out of contextual pressure; or did they all originate from some common source? Or did the variations arise by a refrain being half-remembered and so half-altered, with this process being repeated and thus resulting in subsequent stages of variation? At first sight, this last possibility seems very likely, for refrains are easily memorable, and in any case, were clearly widely transmitted.
In addition, however, as we have just seen, refrains which seem to be close variations of other refrains, are themselves often transmitted without variation. In the case of these four refrains, for instance, while No.1058 only occurs once, both Nos.1059 and 1865 themselves appear unchanged in a number of other contexts. No.1059 appears in three motets; whilst No.1865 appears in three different kinds of source: a rondet from Guillaume de Dole (518), two chansons-avec-des-refrains (R1377, R520) (one of which is set into Les Miracles de Nostre Dame), and finally in a Hereford collection of proverbs.

Such characteristics make it difficult to diagnose cases of deliberate authorial adaptation or even composition of a refrain. If links between refrains are so numerous and thorough-going, then it seems inappropriate to bring in the notion of original composition at all: it would seem to be nearer the truth to think of refrains as consisting of a large stock of commonplace expressions about love which became constantly re-arranged and re-formed through use. From this point of view, to find a resemblance between refrains might be to observe a process more accidental than that of conscious adaptation: the resemblances might occur simply out of the fact that the sentiments expressed are so commonplace and so commonly worded. Yet while this is no doubt true of many instances, it cannot be the whole truth. For if the situation were as haphazard as this, then we would be unlikely to see refrains which exhibited any signs of formal or textual integrity - they would all be loosely worded variations on each other's sentiments. It is important to remember here that the refrain is more than a saying about love: it is also a song. The tune of a refrain undoubtedly contributed to its memorability and popularity, and we shall be going on to discuss this in detail shortly.

Baudouin de Conde's Li Prison d'Amours shows a medieval author's direct involvement with the process of variation amongst refrains. In this work, the narrative seems as much generated by the words and sentiments of the refrains, as the refrains are chosen to exemplify the discussion of love in the narrative. Baudouin, in this way, seems to be taking advantage of the very adaptability of refrains. As he remarks himself, the refrains bolster his discourse by adding a kind of independent, attested authority:

Ains lor di fine verité,
Si le proeve d’auctorité
D’un rondet dont c’est ci li dis:
Sa biele boucete, par un tres douc ris
A mon cuer en sa prizon mis.  (123-27)³⁹

Having quoted this refrain, he then comments on the aptness and rightness of the sentiments of the person who first composed and sang the song, and remarks on the wittiness of calling the prison of love “sa biele boucete”:

Ice expresse il bien et touce,
Quant il nomme sa biele bouce. (136-37)

Then once again he appeals to the refrain’s authority:

Par le canchon c‘orendroit dis,
M’en deffenc et m’en garandis,
Que jou n’ai pas dite mençoingne; (207-09)

But this time he caps his appeal with another refrain:

La sentensce le retiesmoigne
Au recort de ceste cançon:
Sa boucete vermillete m’ a mis en prizon. (210-12)

This refrain is remarkably similar to the previous one: it reads like a condensed form of it, almost as if Baudouin is simply giving a précis of the one he has just quoted. Yet he uses the way it echoes the first refrain as a means of giving further weight to his argument, pointing out proudly how the two refrains agree:

Bien se porsivent et concordent
Cil doi rondet et bien s’acordent
A cou que amours ait prizon. (213-15)

It is difficult to know how ingenuous Baudouin is being; that is, whether he simply brought together two refrains which were happily coincident in phrasing, or whether he in fact tailored one to suit the other. The first refrain is unique to Li Prisons d’Amours, but the second appears after the fourth strophe of a chanson-avec-des-refrains (R150). The second, furthermore, has a parallel in the refrain of R1646: Li debonnaires Diex m’a mis en sa prison. Owing to the difficulty in dating these songs, however, we cannot tell whether their composers borrowed from Baudouin, or whether it was the other way round.

Nonetheless, it is likely that Baudouin is making an elaborate joke: for he seems to be creating his own variations among refrains, yet still claiming that they all independently support his argument. We have an example here, in other words, of a poet
actually exploiting the variation among refrains for his own ends; of his taking for
granted one of their characteristics in order to fuel the discussion of love in his dit.
Variations among the refrains not only illustrate his discussion, but also give it
momentum.

b. Melodies

So far, we have been considering the variation of a refrain from a purely verbal point
of view. But, as we noted earlier, refrains have a musical life as well as a verbal one,
firstly because they appear in three different song genres (the chanson, motet and
rondeau), but also because they are quoted with musical notation in the manuscripts of
several romances as well. The question, then, of the formal or generic stability of a
refrain applies equally to it as a musical tag. In other words, do the tunes show a
comparable degree and process of variation to the words? Are the words of a refrain
necessarily attached to the same tune each time they appear in a different context?

Not so many tunes as verbal texts survive for refrains, which is in keeping with the
fact that in general musical sources are rarer than literary ones in the medieval period.
Nor have they been fully collected together in a way which compares with Boogaard’s study
of the literary sources. Nonetheless the refrain tunes which have survived form a
substantial repertory, as Gennrich’s collection shows.

One deficiency which results from the lack of a comprehensive bibliographical study of
the music is that we are unable properly to cross-refer the refrain texts with their
tunes. But even a cursory comparison of their musical sources shows that the tunes possess
considerable variety, both in their relation to other tunes, and also in their attachment
to refrain texts.

Let us begin by considering two refrains which have a particularly wide range of
musical as well as literary sources. The first, Cui lairai ge (Boogaard, refr.387), as we
noted earlier, appears in eight separate sources, including a rondet from Guillaume de
Dole. It is found with music in four out of eight of these: firstly, as the refrain to
one strophe of a monophonic pastourelle in the Chansonnier de Noailles (T); secondly, in three manuscripts of Les Miracles, as the refrain to one strophe of a monophonic Marian song; thirdly, as part of the triplum of a three-voice motet on In seculum in the Montpellier manuscript (Mo); and finally, as part of the duplum of a two-voice motet on Ne in a Munich manuscript (MiA).42

Ex. 1 'Cui lairai ge'

The first thing we notice is that in spite of the differences in their opening pitch, all six tunes are recognizably related to each other. Five out of the six begin with a rising seventh (although the MirN version does not climb any higher than the first series of thirds) and share the same basic melodic shape in the second half of the melody as
well. Of course it is difficult to compare sources when they lack rhythmic notation; but, on the other hand, the single monophonic source with rhythmic notation (the Soissons MS) agrees well with the two motet sources.\(^{43}\) *Soiss* and *Mo* are the closest to each other of all the tunes despite being a fourth apart in pitch (a difference in pitch which is likely to be purely scribal). They are identical in the second half, and have only slight differences in the first half of the tune: *Soiss* by moving starkly through a series of thirds, while *Mo* fills in some rhythmic colour with an extra figuration at the start of the third measure. The *MiiA* reading is the next closest: it rises with a greater rhythmic emphasis than *Mo* or *Soiss*, in which the peak of the phrase is the octave, rather than the seventh. Then instead of following their simple turn from the E down to the C then back up to D (in the fourth and fifth measures), *MiiA* expands the turn rhythmically into three measures, joining up with *Mo* and *Soiss* only in the last two. *MirR*, *MirN* and *T* present further variety, *MirR*, in particular, by including a B\(^4\). It is also the only version to end one degree above the opening pitch rather than on the opening pitch itself.

Although there is a good deal of variation amongst these musical sources, enough to show that the tune was not precisely fixed, there are still enough resemblances to show that we are dealing with a single melody, rather than with a set of different melodies. To this extent, then, it seems that *Cui lairai ge* had its own tune; that in popular memory the words and the tune of *Cui lairai ge* formed a single unit.

Let us put alongside *Cui lairai ge* another popular refrain from *Guillaume de Dole*:

\[
\text{Ne vos repentez mie de loiaument amer.} \quad \text{(Boogaard, refr.1375)}
\]

This appears in seven sources altogether: as the eleventh *rondet* in *Guillaume de Dole*, in *La Court de Paradis* (271), *Les Miracles* (III, 502) and four *chansons-avec-des-refrains* (R2041, R839, R1509, R1963). Music survives in various manuscripts for these four songs and is also present in *La Court de Paradis*, a total of seven readings:
None of these sources is mensurally notated. While this causes problems for an editor, for our purposes it does at least eliminate the problem of comparing rhythmic with non-rhythmic readings. As with *Cui lairai ge*, three of the melodies immediately stand out as very similar, *M*₂₀, *T*₁₂₂ and *i₃*. There is little to distinguish them, apart from slight differences in the placing of plicas, and the fact that *i₃* is transposed down a fourth from the other two (again probably purely a matter of scribal convenience). *i₃* also, like *M*₁₂⁷ and *T*₅₀, introduces a B₃. *T*₅₀ has some oddities, suggesting perhaps an error in transcription, because while its second half is very similar to *M*₁₂⁷ (including the B₃).
the first half starts on an E rather than a D, and ends on a B rather than an A. This causes the tune to leap down a sixth in the middle rather than a fifth. The lack of a B♭ in the first half of $T_{50}$ confirms the possibility of scribal error by showing further uncertainty of mode. Yet despite variation, all the sources described so far present a single tune. The last two sources, $T_{24}$ and $Cour$, however, present further separate tunes, each of which is quite distinct from the other. One rises up from a G to a C, the other descends from a C to a G.

*Ne vos repentez mie* thus cannot be described in quite the same way as *Cui lairai ge*, as a refrain known by its tune and words together. It gives us some indication of the multiplicity of connections that exists between refrain texts and refrain tunes. A single set of words may have a different tune in each of the songs in which it occurs. Take as an example the refrain:

```
Bon jor ait qui mon cuer a;
n'est pas o moi.
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(Boogaard, refr.285)

The earliest textual source for this refrain is the ninth rondet contained in *Guillaume de Dole* (v.1579). We then find it used in the fifth strophe of the ‘Bele Aalis’ song by Baude de la Kakerie (R1509), and in a motet (M79). Since the manuscript of *Guillaume de Dole* contains no music, the only musical sources for the refrain are those of the chanson and the motet, the latter supplying two melodies. Altogether then, we have three musical sources. All of them present different tunes:

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Ex.3  ‘Bon jor ait’
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The last two, unlike the first, are both mensurally notated; they also bear some
resemblances in their melodic pitch and shape. Both melodies not only have the same range
from C to G, but each half of both melodies is clustered round F-G and D-C respectively.
Since the former melody has an "open" ending on E, while the latter a "closed" ending on
C, they could almost be two melodically balanced halves of a single longer tune.
Nonetheless, there would be no possibility of mistaking either of them as a variation of
the other, or of mistaking them both as variations of a single "parent" tune. The tune in
the chanson is different again from both. Anyone trying to edit the tunes of this refrain
text would thus be unable to present a single collated version; they would have either to
present all three tunes, or make an arbitrary choice from among them.

This case is not exceptional among refrains (nor for that matter among other lyric
genres). There are even examples of refrains in a single work having different tunes
attached to them in different manuscripts. In fact, Ne vos repentez mie has already
provided an example of this, since the two manuscript sources for one of the chansons
(R839) each contain different tunes for the same refrain. A more striking instance is
provided by the manuscripts of Renart le Nouvel. The work survives in four manuscripts (BN
f.fr.372(C); fr.1581(L); fr.1593(F) and fr.25566(V) - to give the sigla used by Roussel).
Three of these (C, F and V) contain musical notation for the refrains; in addition, L was
clearly intended to have notation since all the staves are ruled in, although only one
tune is written out.

The relations between the refrains, both musically and verbally, are highly
complicated in all four manuscripts. No two of the manuscripts contain the same number
of refrains (V has 65, F has 68, L has 62 and C has 59). Nor do they present the refrains
in the same order; some refrains are repeated within a manuscript, but the particular
refrains, and the number of repeats, vary from manuscript to manuscript. Furthermore, each
time a refrain is displaced among the manuscripts, it is given to a different character to
sing. This could explain some of the ways in which the tunes are transposed, since it is
possible they were altered to suit a lower or higher voice. But in many cases, the
refrain is given a different tune as well, to correspond to the different way in which a refrain text is being used within the narrative. The tune for J'ai joie ramenee chi (Boogaard, refr.936), for instance, has three different readings.\footnote{45}

The version in C is a transposition down a fourth of the reading in V and, by omitting to add an accidental, changes the interval between the penultimate and final note from a semitone to a whole tone. F, different again from the others, also contains a discantus (added by one of the scribes), which turns the refrain into a tiny two-part motet. No other example of polyphony occurs in the roman.

Renart le Nouvel is in many respects an exceptional work; and there may well have been special circumstances of performance, as Boogaard has very interestingly suggested, which would explain the complicated re-arrangement of refrains among the four manuscripts.\footnote{46} Yet it presents clear evidence that refrains were not exclusively attached to single tunes, evidence which many other refrains in other works confirm.

The existence of several tunes for one verbal text is, in any case, a well-known phenomenon in medieval music.\footnote{47} Many complete trouvere songs, such as Pour verdure and Li nouviaux tanz et mais et violete by the Châtelain de Couci, have quite separate melodies in different manuscripts.\footnote{48} Whether, conversely, single refrain tunes were in general attached to a variety of texts cannot yet be ascertained without a full study of the
cross-references between them; but we do know of some important sources of contrafacta in which French secular refrain tunes are given French religious texts or Latin texts. The most notable examples are Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame and Adam de la Bassée's Ludus super Anticlaudianum.

We can conclude from these examples that to consider the melodies of the refrains as well as their words is to realise that the processes of adaptation were two-fold. Words and tunes changed, moved, were split and re-formed, not necessarily in synchrony, but undoubtedly with a degree of mutual influence. Some indication, finally, of the complexity of this double relationship in medieval song is given by the way in which the manuscripts of the Châtelain de Couci's chansons form different groupings for the texts and for the melodies. 49

IV Dance-song and the refrain

Our discussion of the refrain has confirmed its distinctiveness as a genre; but there remains an enigma about its function in context, not only because of the variety of contexts in which it was used, but also because the idea of such a short piece being a self-contained lyric seems, at first sight, an improbable one. 50 This has remained a persistent difficulty in studies of refrains. For even if the intrinsic completeness of refrains could be agreed, it would still be difficult to construct a plausible picture of how the refrains were performed within, for example, the romances. It is not easy to imagine the interruption of a narrative by a "song" comprising only a single musical phrase. For both these reasons, then, there has always been an obvious attraction in thinking refrains to be fragments of something larger.

a. The refrain and the rondet de carole

Alfred Jeanroy was probably the first scholar to pose directly the question of whether refrains are fragments from longer lyrics or complete lyrics in themselves.
Et d'abord, les refrains sont-ils complets sous leur forme actuelle, ou au contraire ne sont-ils que les débris de pièces dont la plus grande partie se serait perdue ?

The issue was a considerable source of debate between Jeanroy and Joseph Bédier as they worked on dance-song and refrains early this century. In fact, they were involved with two separate - though closely connected - issues: one concerning the relation of refrains to dance-song, the other the possibly fragmentary nature of refrains. Jeanroy believed that refrains were indeed fragments of dance-songs now lost, but which would have had a narrative or dramatic character. Admitting to the "lacune immense" in French literature for these lost dance-songs (p.114), he determinedly sought them out in other European literatures instead, an attempt which bore witness to its own misguidedness. Bédier's solution, on the other hand, lay in the opposite direction. He saw no reason to believe that refrains were fragmentary. With an ingenious argument based on a passage from Le Tournoi de Chauvency, he demonstrated that refrains could be part of a dance without being part of larger poems; without, in other words, necessarily sacrificing their independence.

Since most scholars have taken Bédier's arguments as having won the case, it might seem unnecessary to go over this ground again. Yet, as we shall see, Bédier's argument was not without inconsistency. More significantly for our purposes, since he was interested primarily in dance-song and not in the romances, his argument does not actually help to interpret the refrains when they occur in romances. This is not a point which has been properly recognized. For alongside the support for Bédier's view, we need to take account of the fact that some aspects of Jeanroy's work have retained their influence. In particular, there has remained a tenacious belief in the fragmentary nature of refrains, and this in spite of the work Boogaard has done to correct such a view.

One of the main reasons why it has persisted concerns the connections between refrains and rondeaux. A rondeau's structure is dependent upon a refrain; in addition, we know that the earliest rondeau forms were dance-songs, or rondets de carole. Since we also have plenty of evidence that refrains accompanied dance-song (at least in some form) it has seemed a natural conclusion to think that an isolated refrain implies the existence of a
rondeau based on that refrain.\textsuperscript{55} This, in essence, was Jeanroy’s view: "tous nos refrains ne sont que des fragments de rondets" (p.407). It is still being echoed by Pierre Bec when, discussing the form and origins of the rondet, he writes: "la plupart de nos refrains médiévaux ne sont que des fragments (ou des éléments générateurs ?) de rondets." (p.225)

Bec’s curious mixture of assertiveness and equivocation about whether a refrain is a fragment or whether it is a generating element of a rondet, epitomises the way in which modern views of the refrain have followed the lead of both Bédier and Jeanroy, without taking account of the fact (insisted on by Bédier and Jeanroy) that their two views oppose each other. For despite the fact that both the refrain and the rondet de carole are widely agreed to be constituents of dance-song, the precise relation between the two has hardly been discussed since Jeanroy and Bédier. Yet, or rather because of this (as Bec’s remark demonstrates), it has remained an area of uncertainty.\textsuperscript{56}

Here, the romances are a crucial source of evidence. First, in them, the exact status of the refrains as whole or fragmentary pieces is impossible to ignore. Furthermore, it is a romance, Guillaume de Dole, not a chansonnier, which represents the earliest source of rondets de carole. It has not, perhaps, been sufficiently admitted that this fact of transmission presents a considerable problem of interpretation, both of the romances and of dance-song. John Burrow has discussed the problems of interpreting "Poems without Contexts" such as the Rawlinson lyrics.\textsuperscript{57} In our case, the problem is not the absence of a context, but its presence. Since the romances are the earliest source of rondets, the romance context might in the first place have influenced significantly the way in which the songs appear.

A study of refrains reveals a similar problem: for if the only way to discover more about the nature of refrains in romance is to examine their function, at the same time, their function in romance is precisely what is puzzling, and seems to demand a knowledge of refrains from other sources. Because of this, Bédier’s approach to the refrain leads to a paradox in his work. For his theory about the relation of refrains to dance-song does
not fit the refrains quoted in romances, even though it is largely from the romances that his evidence is drawn.

For scholars in the past who concentrated on the nature of dance-song, the romance was seen simply as evidence about the songs. For us, interested primarily in the romance, these reconstructed views of dance-song are of little help and may even be misleading.

In order, then, to clarify the character of the refrain in romance, we need to review in more detail the picture of dance-song constructed by Jeanroy and Bédier, paying particular attention to their views on the role of the refrain. The rondet de carole (in its simplest form) has been described by scholars ever since Gaston Paris and Alfred Jeanroy, as a song performed by a group of dancers, linked either in a circle or in a single chain, moving in step to the song.\(^5\) The song itself (according to this description) consisted of refrains sung in alternation with strophic sections, the strophic sections being sung by a soloist, or a small group of singers, and the refrains by a chorus comprising the rest of the company of dancers. The soloist or solo group dances alone in the middle of the circle, or leads the dancers in the open chain.

There are various kinds of textual evidence used to supply this description. First, it is argued, the variable form of the rondets found in Guillaume de Dole (later to develop into the fixed form of the fourteenth-century rondeau) suggests the possibility of an alternating chorus and soloist because it often contains a refrain repeated as a half-line in the middle of the stanza:

\begin{verbatim}
Aaliz main se leva.
Bon jor ait qui mon cuer a!
Biau se vesti et para,
Desoz l’aunoi.
Bon jor ait qui mon cuer a!
N’est pas o moi.
\end{verbatim}

\textit{(Guillaume de Dole, 1579-84; Boogaard, rond.9)}

The repetition of the refrain sets up a pattern of alternation, a pattern all the more marked by the lack of clausal connection between the refrain and the additamenta, to use Johannes de Grocheo’s term.\(^5\) The verse lines contain a miniature scene, narrated in the third person: Aaliz gets up early, and then dresses and adorns herself under the alder trees. The refrain interrupts the brief narrative with a direct exclamation of love:
"Greetings to the one who has my heart, but who is not here with me!" The alternation of the song between two voices seems further to strengthen the likelihood that refrain and strophe were sung by two separate singers, or groups of singers. This is a characteristic of most of the rondets; take for instance:

C'est la jus, desoz l'olive.
La la voi venir, m'amie.
La fontaine i sort serie,
el jaglolai soz l'aunoi.
La la voi, la voi, la voi,
la bele la blonde; a li m'otroi.

(Lai d'Aristote, 303-08; Boogaard, rond.17)

Again, but even more briefly, there is the sketch of a scene in the additamenta - a fountain playing in the grove - interrupted by a refrain in the first person, as if by a lover talking of his lady.

So far, the argument has been straightforward. However, when the rondets in Guillaume de Dole are examined more closely, they do not support the generalisations made by Bédier, and some recent scholars who follow him, about the role of the refrains within them. For Bédier, the refrain is the fixed element in the dance-song, and the strophe the part which is renewable:

[les chansons à danser] sont donc composées en règle d'une partie qui se renouvelle, confiée au principal danseur, et d'une partie fixe, qui sera reprise comme un refrain par le choeur. (p.399)

There are two related ideas here about the refrain: firstly, that it is fixed by virtue of being a repeated and hence constant element within the ronder; and secondly, that it was a traditional tag which the majority of dancers knew, unlike the rest of the song which was known only by the soloist, as it was more difficult to pick up.

The first signs that the surviving rondets do not fit these apparently straightforward distinctions between the refrain and the strophes occur in Bédier's own reconstructions of some of the rondets. He shows inconsistency over which lines belong to the refrain and which to the strophic sections. For instance, the following ronder appears in Guillaume de Dole in this form:

Main se leva la bien fete Aeliz,
par ci passe li bruns, li biaus Robins.

34
Biau se para et plus biau se vesti.
Marchiez la foille et ge quieudrai la flor.
Par ci passe Robins li amorous,
Encor en est li herbages plus douz. (542-47)

As it stands in the manuscript, the rondet's form is unambiguous: it begins with a strophic line, which is followed by the first half of the refrain. Two more strophic lines (544-45), syntactically joined to the first strophic line of the rondet, are then followed by the refrain in full, which partly repeats the first occurrence of the refrain, and partly expands upon it. In Bédier's reconstruction, however, given below in full, he assigns the refrain not to the chorus, but to the soloist:

LE SOLISTE: Par ci passe Robins li amorous:
         Encore en est li herbages plus douz.

LE CHOEUR: Main se leva la bien faite Aelis.

LE SOLISTE: Par ci passe li bruns, li biaus Robins.

LE CHOEUR: Biau se para et plus biau se vesti.

LE SOLISTE: Marchiez la foille et ge quieudrai la flor;
         Par ci passe Robins li amorous:
         Encore en est li herbages plus douz.

Consequently he has given the strophic lines "Main se leva la bien faite Aelis" and "Biau se para et plus biau se vesti" to the chorus as if they were a refrain.

In the next example, Bédier makes the opposite decision, by defining a refrain as a strophic section. In Guillaume de Dole, the rondet appears in this form:

C'est la gieus, la gieus, q'en dit en ces prez.
Vos ne vendrez mie, dames, caroler.
La bele Aeliz i vet par joer
souz la vert olive.
Vos ne vendrez mie caroler es prez,
 que vos n'amez mie.
G'i doi bien aler et bien caroler
     car j'ai bele amie. (5427-34; Boogaard, rond.15)

Here, the song initially has one of the simpler rondet structures in Guillaume de Dole, with an internal, partially repeated refrain in a second voice interrupting the description of a background scene in the strophe (2, 5-6). The problem arises with the last two lines of the song. Are they strophic or a second refrain? According to Bédier, who follows a reconstruction initially made by Jeanroy, G'i doi bien aler is an extra
strophic section of the song, which is to be followed again by the refrain: Vos ne vendrez mie. But G'i doi bien aler is a phrase of a similar type to Vos ne vendrez mie, expressed in the first person, and with the same oblique relation to the story of Bele Aeliz. In this way, although, according to Boogaard, it does not appear as an identifiable refrain in any other context, it does bear the characteristics of a refrain. In common with several other rondets which contain two refrains (Nos. 2, 3, 12 and 180) there seems no need to assume any change in the broad pattern of contrast between scenic description in the strophic sections and personal interjections in the refrains. One way of making performance sense from this would be to understand the manuscript form of this song as containing both scripted and improvised elements. As an alternative to the interpretation of Jeanroy and Bédier, the rondet may have been sung through a second time with the new refrain (perhaps sung by a new group or individual) acting as a reply to the first one.61

One reason for confusion about the form of the rondets is that the corpus of rondets as a whole in thirteenth-century manuscripts shows them to have varying characteristics. This state of affairs has led to several attempts to distinguish between different forms of chansons de carole, in particular to try to detect prototypes among them for the later formes fixes of the fourteenth-century rondeau, virelai and ballade. Bec, for instance, characterises the rondet de carole, the virelai / virelai and the ballette on these grounds. But he admits that the connections between all three types are often so close as to make them indistinguishable, an admission which casts more doubt on his original classification than he allows.62

This might go some way towards explaining why Bédier prints the rondets in what one might call negative relief. But there is a more important reason why his theory breaks down, which is that it is not the refrain which is the fixed element in the song, but the additamenta. The specific source of confusion here is that the term "fixed" has two senses when it is applied to the component sections of the rondets. In an individual rondet, the refrain is "fixed" in the sense that it is repeated within the structure of the song. But Bédier's argument depends on a different sense of "fixed": that is, that the refrain is a known and "fixed" element of a particular dance. This is the argument he uses to justify
his notion of the chorus knowing the refrain, but not the strophe, by heart.

However, when we look at the whole collection of rondets de carole in Guillaume de Dole, we find that there are only two types of strophe, one type describing Bele Aelis, and the other a pastoral scene "la gieus" ("over there") in which there is either an olive tree, or a fountain. Both these settings occur frequently in rondets from other sources, and in other pastourelles and chansons. Each type is "fixed" in the sense that it contains its own formula of words, which remains constant from rondet to rondet. The refrains, on the other hand, while they are repeated within each rondet, are not repeated among the group of rondets (although they are often used in other contexts). It is thus not surprising that Bédier mistakes "Main se leva la bien faite Aelis" and "Biau se para et plus biau se vesti" for refrains, because they are lines common to half the rondets de carole in Guillaume de Dole.

If the strophic sections remain constant, while the refrains vary from rondet to rondet, we can see that it is no longer accurate to think of the strophe as the more complicated, less well known part of the rondet. On the contrary, the strophic sections appear to be commonplace, and highly familiar; the refrains a means of providing variety and individual point to the songs. In other words, the refrain acts as the distinguishing semantic feature of each rondet, just as it also acts as the rondet's primary structural characteristic. This is why, in the romances, refrains are very often assigned to solo singers, rather than a chorus.

There are therefore many grounds for understanding the refrain, even within the rondet de carole, to have a large degree of autonomy. As the above examples show, not only are the refrains detached semantically from the strophic sections, they form a new sentence structure which is superimposed upon the strophe. There is an accidental air about the relation between a rondet and its refrain: within the two strophic types "Bele Aelis" and "C'est la jus" especially, any refrain could be inserted. It would be misleading then to think of the refrains as inseparable from the rondets which contain them.
Paradoxically, it was the concern of Jeanroy and Bédier to establish the ‘original’ forms of dance-song which led them to assume that the refrain was a fragment of the rondet de carole, whereas the refrain shows far more signs of independence - even disjunction - from the additamenta of the earliest rondets than it does in the later examples of the form.

This autonomy can be seen most clearly in the musical structure of the rondets. Very few examples of whole rondeaux survive with music in the thirteenth century - musical sources for dance-song are mostly supplied only by notation for isolated refrains, or the motet - but those that do, such as the rondeaux of Guillaume d'Amiens, have the following schema:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Although the words change between soloist and chorus, both the refrain and the additamenta have the same melody.\(^\text{64}\) The tune of the refrain, in other words, acts as the key to the performance of the whole song. In this sense, the refrain, far from being subsidiary, actually generates the musical form of the dance-song.

With such indications of the status of the refrain as an independent unit within a rondet, and musically, as the primary generating element of the dance-song, we can see that to think of an isolated refrain as a fragment of a rondet carries with it misleading assumptions. The form of a rondet does appear to encase a refrain in a way which makes the refrain more integral to the song than if the refrain were an independent burden recurring at the end of successive stanzas, as in the later virelai and ballade. Yet, we can now see that this is indicative of the dependence of the rondet form upon the refrain, rather than the other way around. And since other dance-songs (even if clear differences in form cannot be agreed) are, as Bec argues, demonstrably based upon the rondet, then they too can be seen to be dependent on refrains.\(^\text{65}\)

b. The nature of the refrain in romance

So far, then, our discussion of the structural importance of the refrains contained
within rondets de carole has concluded against Jeanroy. If the refrain is indeed an independent unit - even within a rondet de carole - then clearly, in attempting to describe an isolated refrain, there would be little point in general in trying to find a specific surviving rondet from which it could have originated. The example of Cui lairai ge is a particularly good demonstration of how difficult a matter it would be to decide which of the many contexts for a refrain is the 'original' one. Indeed, as I argued earlier, the textual history of many refrains implies that there is no surviving original context for them. This is not to say that there may not be specific instances in which refrains can be identified as 'new', or as the invention of a particular poet. But the difficulty of identifying these should make us all the more wary of branding refrains in general as shortened forms of rondets de carole.

When refrains are quoted in isolation in a romance, without the presence of additional lyric material (such as the additamenta of a rondet), there are fewer grounds for supposing that they are necessarily associated with dance-song. But since Bédier made this association an a priori assumption of his research, he naturally continued to think of the solution in dance-song terms.

The solution that he found brilliantly re-captures the ground which dance-song (as an explanation for refrains) might seem in danger of losing. It is an argument for a more sophisticated type of dance-song, based on passages in Le Tournoi de Chauvency (4181-300) and Guillaume de Lorris' Roman de la Rose (754ff). He claims that many refrains, because their words suggest some kind of narrative scenario, can be put together to form a whole range of miming games. These were not games that stuck rigidly to the principle of alternation between a chorus and a soloist, but ones that instead, involved two or three individual dancers acting out a short narrative sketch. In fact, the passage in Le Tournoi (which both Peter Dronke and Richard Axton have also more recently described in detail) is the only surviving example of a full description of the game. As we shall see, the poet follows each detail of the mime from start to finish, including the dance steps and gestures, the sequence of songs and even the glances of the dancer.
The poem as a whole, written by Jacques Bretel, describes a week of festivities and jousting which Louis de Looz, Comte de Chiny, organized at Chauvency in October 1285. One evening, in order to divert those wounded in the jousting, some of the knights manage to persuade the Countess of Luxembourg to perform for everyone the "Jeu de Chapelet" - or the game of the circlet of flowers. 67

The dance begins with the Countess singing the refrain:

Si n'a plus joliète de mi. (4220)

A minstrel asks her in a song whether she needs a companion, and the two of them exchange a dialogue in song in which he gains enough encouragement to go and select a knight from amongst the company for her. The knight is chosen, and approaches bashfully. She receives him with great courtesy and pleasure, singing a final refrain:

La merci Deu j'ai ataint - Se que je voloie. (4296)

The action takes place to the accompaniment of individually described dance steps and gestures, in which the Countess twirls and spins her chapelet of flowers, places it on her head and removes it again:

Quant elle ot son chant définé,
Deus pas avant a cheminé;
Au tiers a fait le tour dou pié,
Son chapelet amont dreçié,
Et entors sez mains le tomoit,
De fois en autres l'ezgardoit,
Et puis sor son chief le metoit,
Petit après si l'en rostoit,
Cointement s'en esbançoit. (4237-45)

The refrains in this Jeu behave sometimes like miniature arias and sometimes like recitatives in a classical opera or operetta. For instance, they may represent the mood or feelings of the lady in monologue form: Si n'a plus joliète de mi (4220) and Diex, trop demoure! Quant venra ? - Sa demoree m'ocirra! (4282) (these tend to be refrains current in other contexts). But they can also convey the dialogue between her and the minstrel (these tend to be unica, and have a more spontaneous character):

«Douce dame, volès baron ?»

- «Naie! Se je ne l'ai tres bon, je i avoie damaige!
J'ain miex mon chapelet de fiors que malvais mariaige!»
- «Trez douce dame, il est trové
Si fait com vos le demandez.»

- «Biaus sire, et car le m’amenez le jus en cel herbaige!
Je m’en vois, vos m’i troverès seant sor le rivage!» (4248-54)

On the analogy of this example, Bédier argues for the existence of other dance-mimes. Since there are no other passages - even in Le Tournoi de Chauvency - which give such unambiguous narrated details not only of dancing steps and refrains, but of a sequence of action, he turns to two other methods of reconstruction. The first involves finding a song which contains the seeds of a dramatic situation, such as the well-known motet "Li jalous sont partout fustat".

Armed with this kind of song, Bédier now returns to individual refrains in order to find some which could be fitted into a sequence on the same theme as the song - and according to the same principle as those in Le Tournoi de Chauvency. He suggests, for instance, that any refrain in which jealous husbands or "vilains" are mocked belongs to a certain type of jeu - in this case, the one which he calls "La Balerie de la Reine de Printemps". He then puts the refrains into an order which will form a coherent mime. In the absence of a suitable song to suggest a theme for the mime, Bédier's second method of reconstruction is simply to find a theme by grouping together like refrains.

Bédier's theory is undeniably attractive, ingenious and plausible. He engagingly admits that there is something arbitrary about his method:

Assurément il y a de l’arbitraire dans ce groupement, et la fantaisie de chacun peut disposer ces vers, et tant d’autres analogues, de toute autre façon. Mais le principe de ce mode d’interprétation semble juste, car il est confirmé par un texte précieux des Tournoi de Chauvenci. (p.403)

But whether or not we feel that there is a basis of truth in Bédier's hypothesis, it is important to remind ourselves that it remains a feat of the imagination, and that it is a hypothesis about dance-song rather than a study of the character of refrains in romance. Bédier is deliberately vague about the implications of his argument for romance. He leaves the impression that refrains, when not part of rondets de carole, form baleries. But baleries would make no sense in the other works - apart from Le Tournoi de Chauvency - from which he takes refrains. He pays no respect to the contexts in which he finds
refrains; instead he creates an imaginary context for them.

This would not matter, if it were not that the force of his idea has tended to overwhelm subsequent thinking about refrains. His work of "fantaisie" inhibits an understanding of the works in which the refrains actually occur - and, therefore, from understanding the refrains themselves as they have come down to us. For example, he ignores any question of chronology. He uses the example of balerie in Le Tournoi de Chauvency, at the end of the thirteenth century, to explain the connection between isolated refrains in a whole range of works written as many as sixty years before Le Tournoi, and fifty years after. In this way, Bédier leaves unasked a series of awkward questions. Is the balerie a later development of the rondet de carole? Or does the company in Le Tournoi de Chauvency perform the balerie with conscious nostalgia, looking back to an archaic form of court entertainment? Are we really to suppose that every refrain, whenever and wherever it occurs, had some original connection with dance-song?

This re-assessment of the work of Jeanroy and Bédier has revealed contrasting weaknesses in each. We have been able to establish that Jeanroy's argument is flawed by his belief that refrains are inherently fragmentary. Bédier, while making an important step towards combating this belief, in the process paints an imaginary, ahistorical picture of dance-song, which is often extravagantly irrelevant to the contexts from which he draws his examples of refrains.

The importance of Bédier's pioneering work on Le Tournoi de Chauvency is that it draws attention to an intriguing example of the use of a refrain as an independent unit within a dance. In a rondet de carole, the refrain is still acting like a "refrain", that is, like an internal, repeated element in the song. But in the balerie quoted in Le Tournoi de Chauvency, the refrain behaves like an independent sung phrase, which is not repeated, but is linked to other independent refrains in a verbal and dramatic sequence.

Whatever we may think of Bédier's own reconstructions of baleries, the conception of a refrain which he draws from Le Tournoi de Chauvency agrees very well with our earlier discussion of refrains as phrases which have an autonomy, musically and semantically, yet which are peculiarly capable of both adapting to, and being accommodated within, a wide
range of poetic, musical and social settings. But it is important to insist, in spite of him, that this view of the refrain does not contradict its use as a repeated element within an ordinary song or in a dance-song. Each attests equally to the refrain's independence.

Modern views about refrains, however, have remained surprisingly inconsistent. We noted earlier Pierre Bec's equivocation over whether or not refrains are fragments of rondets de carole. In fact, most recent scholars have taken it for granted that refrains are fragments of rondets. Maillard, for instance, in his study of the music of Adam de la Halle, discusses the refrains in Adam's compositions not in their own right, but under the chapter heading 'Les rondets de caroles' (chapter V). By doing so he pre-empts discussion of the nature of the refrains. For while some of the refrains do occur in rondets by Adam, many, on the contrary, occur in pastourelles, motets and romans, and have no immediate connection with rondets de caroles. Maillard also states of the refrains in Renart le Nouvel, that "ces insertions lyriques consistent principalement en refrains de rondets." (p.277) Even Boogaard makes the same unquestioned supposition about the refrains in Renart le Nouvel, despite his own formidable demonstration of the numerous range of sources in which they occur.

At the same time, however, these scholars have repeatedly formulated descriptions of the refrain which emphasise - often in quasi-scientific terms - its complex, migratory character. Taking his cue from Boogaard's biological metaphor "parasite", Bec offers "refrain exogène" (p.43), which he also defines as "un ensemble [qui] tend à fonctionner d'une manière autonome" (p.42). But this view of the refrain as autonomous does not fit very easily with the assumption that it is also only a fragment of a rondet.

Perhaps in implicit recognition of this inconsistency, Bec attempts a sketchy distinction between the "refrain exogène" and the refrain which appears in dance-song, which Bec terms the "refrain récurrent". However, his distinction collapses in on itself:

En effet, à coté de ce refrain récurrent, plus ou moins intégré, sémantiquement et prosodiquement, au cursus strophique, comme dans le rondet de carole et dans la balette, existent des pièces à refrains exogènes, variables à chaque couplet, et correspondant visiblement à une autre couche textuelle que l'ensemble des
His theory rests on maintaining a hard and fast distinction between the two types. And yet, even in the case of the "refrain récurrent", he is having to make allowance for the independent character of the refrain. The allowance is deliberately unspecific: the refrain has a linguistic signification which is "assez variable"; it tends to function "d'une manière autonome"; the refrain is integrated with the strophic sections "plus ou moins". But it is exactly at this level of specificity of how "variable" a refrain's text is, in what "manièr" it is autonomous, and whether it is integrated "moins" or "plus", that any attempt to make a distinction between one kind of refrain and another must operate. In fact, as Bec implicitly acknowledges, and as our discussion of rondets de caroles has indicated, there is no distinction to be made between refrains as they occur in rondets de carole, and as they occur outside rondets. To put it simply, they are often the same refrain. 70 The refrain Cui lairai ge. after all, appears in seven other contexts as well as in a rondet in Guillaume de Dole.

Following on from Bec, Maillard tries to make a similar distinction, and once again, it fails him:

Ces insertions lyriques consistent principalement en refrains de rondets, dont certains sont particuliers au roman même de Jacquemart Gielée. Ces unica réels sont au nombre de 53 qui viennent donc s'inscrire dans un autre répertoire,..., celui des refrains de rondeaux ou de chansons à baler, structures archaïques apparentment héritées du répertoire liturgique, mais qui concerne plus particulièrement un substrat autochtone. (p.277)

Having described the lyric insertions in Renart le Nouvel as "refrains de rondets", Maillard points out that fifty-three of these are unique to this roman. Already there is a lacuna in his argument, for since the refrains are unica, there can be no corroborative evidence that they are in fact from rondets. But Maillard seems unsure himself whether this group of unica does not instead belong to a repertory of what he loosely calls "refrains de rondeaux ou chansons à baler". It is particularly difficult to understand the force of his distinction between "refrains de rondets" and "refrains de rondeaux", on the grounds that the latter are more archaic than the former, when it is the rondet which is, in any case, an older term, and an older form than the rondeau.
In attempting to distinguish between different kinds of refrain, Bec and Maillard fail to make a more important distinction. This concerns the difference between the characteristics of refrains in the form in which they have survived, and the characteristics of ‘original’ forms of dance-song, which refrains may be supposed to represent. Jeanroy was the first to describe refrains in this way, as the detritus of "un substrat autochtone", or in Bec’s paraphrase, as "les débris d’une poésie archaïque et popularisante, des sortes d’épaves lyriques, conservées et valorisées par la poésie courtoise." (p.43)

This may be right, but the evidence for it is irretrievable. For such a view - as always with questions of origin - cannot be more than a supposition. But we should not allow a supposition about the origins of the refrain to confuse the evidence which we actually possess. As we shall discuss in the next chapter, Guillaume de Dole is not only the earliest source of rondets de carole, but also the earliest source of refrains quoted without being part of a chanson or rondet. In other words, independent refrains occur alongside rondets. Because of this, we know that any historical development - of the refrain out of the rondet, or vice versa (we cannot know which) - must have taken place before the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The attempt to discover the origin of refrains has thus obscured the effort to interpret refrains within the thirteenth-century compositions in which they have actually survived. In the next chapter, we shall enter into these problems of interpretation more directly by turning to the romans themselves. Jean Renart’s claim at the start of Guillaume de Dole is that here we have not only a new type of work, but a work in which songs have a new function. Having gained some insight into the musical and verbal character of refrains, we will now try to examine in what way refrains are altered by being contained within a romance, as well as in what way romances (and other genres) are altered by containing refrains. If we do not attempt to pin down the refrain too hard in advance, then we shall see that its very adaptability is what characterises it most. In short, we shall see how the nature of the refrain lends itself with particular ease to a poet’s interests. Released from the often unwarranted assumption that refrains are merely
fragments of *rondets*, we can begin to appreciate the extraordinary variety of uses to which they were put. In particular, we can understand how the refrain's ability to hover between being a dance, a snatch of song, a proverbial adage and a witticism about love would commend itself to a thirteenth-century poet.
CHAPTER TWO

The realisation of the refrain in thirteenth-century romance

The thirteenth-century romances which contain refrains present a particularly complex historical picture. For the collective term "roman", used by Boogaard, covers a highly diverse gathering of works, ranging from romans d'adventure, love dits and contes and saluts d'amour to satirical romans, fabliaux and dramatic jeux.¹ It is difficult to gain a sense of the typical when the subjects of comparison are so anomalous. At the same time, certain characteristics in the use of refrains are recognizably linked, and many are pleasurably sophisticated. The first part of this chapter will attempt to draw out some of the most important of these in romans and fabliaux written throughout the thirteenth century. The love dits, contes, and saluts d'amour of this period will be discussed separately in the next chapter, together with two romans which make the quotation of trouvere chansons rather than refrains their primary focus.

In the last quarter of the century, there is evidence of an increasingly conscious sense of tradition amongst poets interested in lyric interpolation. The second part will discuss as a group a number of works which have all been taken independently to have a considerable interest in their own right, but which have also been considered to be mavericks, difficult to define and difficult to understand in terms of precedents or influences. Too little account has been taken of the fact that these works were all written at a similar date in and around Arras, and thus can be considered to constitute in themselves a definable group - even a school - within this famous literary centre. It is a school which is linked by the other unconsidered relation between these works, which is their use of songs - and often the same songs. It will be my concern to show that there is a common acceptance among these poets of a particular topos, the court-scene-with-songs, and furthermore, that they are consciously turning to account aspects of the specialised romance tradition to which they were contributing.

47
Early thirteenth-century examples

It is remarkable that one of the first signs of interest in quoting song on the part of a romance author, although at first sight of a very minor kind, in fact anticipates some of the more sophisticated developments in the use of song in the century. *Galeran de Bretagne*, of a similar date to Renart’s *Guillaume de Dole*, and perhaps even by him, contains just one two-line refrain among some 7800 lines of narrative.² So tiny an interpolation might seem, on the face of it, a barely perceptible disruption to the romance form. Seemingly in confirmation of this, (and unlike other manuscripts of works containing songs, in which the songs, if they are not musically notated, are often marked out by rubrics, paragraph signs, or differently coloured ink) the single surviving manuscript of the poem makes no kind of visual distinction at all between the refrain and the rest of the narrative.³

However, on closer inspection, the circumstances in which the refrain is quoted suggest a surprising conclusion. The romance plot (which resembles Marie de France’s *Lai du Fresne*) concerns a pair of lovers, Galeran and Fresne, who are separated by force of adventure. As the narrative draws to a close, Fresne re-discovers Galeran, only to find that he is about to marry her twin sister, Fleurie. Disguised as a jonglaresse, Fresne causes Galeran to recognize her by singing to him a lai known only to the two of them, because he had taught it to her in their childhood. By this means they are re-united. The lai itself is not quoted, and its contents only reported. Nonetheless, its importance to the romance is considerable, for the resolution of the plot hinges upon it, an idea which the later romance, *Sone de Nansai* (second half of the thirteenth century) takes even further.⁴

In both *Galeran* and *Sone de Nansai*, songs are of crucial importance to the plot, even when they are only paraphrased. But more than this, they take dramatic advantage of the public circumstances in which the songs are performed. Fresne’s refrain is a striking example. She sings it in front of the assembled court, just before she goes on to perform the lai. Confronted with the impending marriage of her lover to her sister, she sings:
Je voix aux noces mon amy:
Plus dolente de moy n'y va!

(6976-77; Boogaard, refr.1151)

Her words are ironic, since she would not be unhappy at her lover's wedding if she were able to marry him herself. Yet her words are also cryptic, because she is forced to sing them in disguise, and in front of a court which has no idea of their personal appropriateness to her. As far as we can tell, the author of Galeran did not invent the refrain himself (we also find it in a motet in three mid- to late thirteenth-century manuscripts); rather he chose it to fit the situation very closely, only then to conceal the refrain's appropriateness from all but Fresne herself. In this brief, but pointed manner, the poet turns the very precision of his choice of refrain into an occasion for dramatic irony.

In Galeran, the tiny instance of lyric interpolation represents an unexpectedly high level of interest in song on the poet's part. In fact this is a consistent feature of the romans d'aventure which contain songs. Frequently, in romans which contain very few songs, songs are not treated by the poet merely as an additional embellishment to an existing plot framework, but are taken as a means of re-structuring the plot. Two plot features, in particular, become a regular element of these romances: the use of song to forge links between characters, and hence as an instrument of recognition or reconciliation between them; and the disguise of a hero or heroine as a jongleur or jonglaresse in order to facilitate his or her ability to perform songs in unexpected circumstances.

We may compare the way in which a single refrain assumes a disproportionate importance in a romance as long as Galeran, with Adenet le Roi's Cleomadés. This work also shows unexpected care in its handling of song, considering that its seven rondeaux all occur in one short passage about a third of the way through its 18,688 lines. (In Girart d'Amiens' revised version of the poem, Meliacin, the number of songs is increased to twenty-four: an interesting example of one poet amplifying the technique of lyric interpolation of another). The hero Cleomadès, having carried off his bride Clarmondine, leaves her alone in a garden while he prepares his father's palace to welcome her. She sings three songs...
while she is waiting for him to return, but is overheard by the villainous Clamart, who
kidnaps her. On their way back to find her, Cleomadés, his father and sisters sing four
more *rondeaux*. But by the time they reach the garden, she has disappeared.

Both the words of the songs, and the time which it takes to sing them, apparently
distract attention away from narrative events, the hero’s absence creating a hiatus in the
narrative which the songs fill. But the songs act as a timely interlude in two senses, for
they not only pleasantly occupy the time, they also confirm a sense of time elapsing. That
this might have sinister implications is brought out by the words of the first three
songs, sung by Clarmondine. In all three songs, Clarmondine complains of being kept
waiting by her lover. The *refrain* of the first (related to one that was very well known,
see Boogaard, refr.577) sounds merely impatient:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Diex, trop demeure mes amis,} \\
\text{tart m'est que le revoie} & \quad (5497-98; \text{Boogaard, refr.575})^{10}
\end{align*}
\]

The second, more subtly, is a wistful explanation of why - with love to comfort her - she
is not really alone; a sentiment which does not ring very true in view of her earlier
complaints:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tant que j'ai amours avoec moi,} \\
\text{ne sui je pas seulete.} & \quad (5513-34; \text{Boogaard, refr.1765})
\end{align*}
\]

But in the third, Clarmondine’s *refrain* returns to her first complaint, with a new note of
urgency suggested by the repetition of "revenez", this itself reinforced by the formal
repetition of the *refrain* within the *rondeau*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Revenez, revenez,} \\
\text{dous amis, trop demeurez,} \\
\text{trop longuement m'oubliez.} & \quad (5533-35; \text{Boogaard, refr.1625})
\end{align*}
\]

It is at this moment that the villain seizes her.

The first three *rondeaux* lightly build in this way upon the audience’s sense of
Clarmondine’s isolation. For this reason the next four *rondeaux*, sung by Cleomadés and his
family in lighthearted anticipation of meeting again with Clarmondine, are overshadowed by
dramatic irony. Thus the very process by which the songs distract the audience from the
narrative, applies a gentle pressure of suspense to it. Adenet cleverly adds a further
twist by causing the villain to overhear Clarmondine’s singing. By this means, the songs
are made not only to enact the hiatus in the narrative, but at the same time to trigger the new set of adventures by betraying her presence to Clamart.

Cleomadés takes advantage of the apparently simple function of songs to entertain an audience, by allowing the audience only slowly to realise that this function conceals a more subtle one. In fact, a similar process of concealment is present in a much earlier work, Henri d'Andeli's Lai d'Aristote, which was probably written soon after the Roman de la Violette in around 1230. Alexander's mistress sings the four songs (three rondets de carole and the first strophe of a chanson de toile) in order to seduce the philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle has warned his pupil Alexander against the dangers of women, but soon finds himself inescapably attracted to the same girl in spite of himself. She, having engineered the situation in order to teach him a lesson, tantalises him by pretending that her love songs are for him when really she is still in love with Alexander:

\[\textit{Ci me tienent amoretés!} \\
\textit{Dras i gaoit meschinete.} \\
\textit{Bele, trop vos aim!} \\
\textit{Ci me tienent amoretés} \\
\textit{Ou ge tieng ma main.}\] (360-64)

Overwhelmed by the seductive atmosphere created by the songs, Aristotle even allows her to ride on his back round the garden, while she sings pointedly:

\[\textit{Ainsi va qui amor maine} \\
\textit{Et ainsi qui les maintient!}\] (464-65)

The joke is double-sided, since the words of the refrain could apply equally to her as she rides in triumph, or to him in his position of humiliation. Yet, moral philosopher as he is, Aristotle manages to have the last word: if love of a woman can reduce even him to such a state, then it should be avoided all the more.

These uses of song in Cleomadés and the Lai d’Aristote, reveal two important aspects of the capacity of song to divert an audience, as well as to captivate it. Adenet le Roi's technique is to derive unexpected narrative capital out of the songs' apparently simple function of entertainment. Henri d'Andeli, by contrast, takes the distracting power of songs to farcical extremes, whereby they succeed even in distracting a man from his wits, and a philosopher at that. At the same time, much of the comic potential in the Lai
"d'Aristote" derives from Aristotle's desire to take the sentiment expressed in the songs seriously. The songs tease him by being capable of carrying sincere feeling, even if so much about their hackneyed words, and the particular circumstances in which they are sung, wards off such feeling.

II Private and public: grand chant and dance-song in Guillaume de Dole

The songs in the Lai d'Aristote have an impersonal note owing to their character as dance-songs. By contrast, in Guillaume de Dole, the songs sung at moments of apparently greatest emotional seriousness are not dance-songs (with one interesting exception) but grands chants courtois. Throughout Guillaume de Dole, Renart makes a distinction between the kinds of song which are sung in private - the courtly chansons - and those which are performed in public - the dance-songs, chansons de toile and chansons d'histoire. In this way he broadly supports the association of grands chants with noble sentiment (though perhaps with tongue in cheek as we will see in the next chapter), with private anguish expressed in polished verbal and musical forms. Dance-song, by contrast, with its simple, rustic characteristics, seems a comparatively lowly genre, one suitable, as it were, merely for public entertainment.

There are altogether sixteen grands chants quoted in the romance (thirteen are French, three are Provençal), and most of them are associated with the Emperor Conrad. They support and echo his emotional progress throughout the story as he first falls in love with the beautiful Lëenor, then believes himself to have lost her because of a slur cast on her name, and finally, is re-united with her, having learnt that the slander was unfounded.

Many of the circumstances in which the Emperor asks to have a grand chant performed for him, or in which he sings one himself, are archetypal settings for thoughts of love: waking up in bed on a brilliant spring morning, listening to bird-song, sitting pensively by a window, or riding on a journey. Since many of the songs are by well-known trouvères, Conrad (representing Renart) frequently summons them quite consciously to mind to suit his
particular feelings, as if they formed a repertory of sentiments, capable of matching a
wide range of situations, from which he had only to make his choice:

mout dolenz et mout angoisseus...
Des bons vers mon seignor Gasson
li sovient, qui li font grant bien...
«Je di que c'est granz folie &c» (3618, 3620-21, 3625)

On one occasion, Conrad expressly draws attention to the closeness with which the song
matches his mood. Commenting just before the song is quoted on the excellence of its words
and melody ("onques mes nule ame, / ce li sambla en chevauchant, / miex ne dist cest vers
ne cest chant" (4124-26)), he remarks, as soon as it is finished, to his musician Jouglet:

«Juglet, a droiture
fu ciz vers fet por sonoi sanz doute.» (4141-42)

This view of a song, particularly of a grand chant, as a vehicle for sentiment, emphasises
the way in which a song can be appropriated by a listener. The value which Conrad ascribes
to a song derives from a song's capacity to express highly individual sentiments in a form
which lends itself to general application.

The courtly chansons are always quoted when the Emperor is "mout angoisseus" and "toz
seuls" (see also for instance, 3737-78). In addition, the kind of sentiment which the
grands chants embody is always associated with private occasions, something that is also
particularly well exemplified in Le Roman du Châtelain de Couci, one of the few romances
apart from Guillaume de Dole and the Roman de la Violette to contain trouvere songs.12

The dance-songs in Guillaume de Dole, by contrast, are a public affair, involving not
only a public audience, but an audience which participates in the songs, rather than
simply listens to them. We may take as an example the opening scene of Guillaume de Dole,
which contains two characteristic passages of dance-song. The setting is a fête champêtre:
the whole court has moved into the the forest for a fortnight, where silken pavilions have
been pitched, and such pastimes as hunting, chess, and dance-song are being enjoyed. Such
a court setting (whether indoors or out) very commonly signals the quotation of songs in a
thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century roman: examples include La Court de Paradis, Le
Tournoi de Chauvency and Renart le Nouvel. All of them, however, unlike Guillaume de Dole,
quote only refrains.

The two passages describe the company carolling first before and then after dinner, well into the night. To take the second session first, Renart here sets the scene quite formally. The ladies and gentlemen proceed out of the pavilions, then position themselves "main a main...en un pré vert" in order to start the carole. A lady begins:

Une dame s'est avancée,
vestue d'une cote en graine,
si chante ceste prémareaine:

C'est tot la gieus, enmi les prez,
Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amer !
Dames i vont por caroler,
remirez voz braz !
Voz ne sentez mie les maus d'amer
si com ge faz !

After this first lady, a young squire sings a second rondet. Renart then comments:

C'este n'ot pas duré .III. tours,
quant li filz au conte d'Aubours
qui mout amoit chevalerie
recommencé a voix serie:

Main se levoit Aeliz,
J'ai non Enmelot.
Biau se para et vesti
soz la roche Guion.
Cui lairai ge mes amors,
amie, s'a vos non ?

He is followed finally by the Duchess of Austria, who:

«recommença ceste chançon:

Main se leva la bien fete Aeliz,
par ci passe li bruns, li biaus Robins.
Biau se para et plus biau se vesti.
Marchiez la foille et ge qieudrai la flor.
Par ci passe Robins li amorous,
Encor en est li herbages plus douz.

The passage presents an interesting combination of solo and communal performance, although in exactly what manner it is difficult to decide. Despite the apparent certainty of many scholars - past and present - of the choreography of a rondet de carole, passages in Guillaume de Dole such as this one, which form the basis of evidence about rondets de carole, are in fact far from unambiguous. The details are suggestive, but slight. For instance, there are no references here to any specific dance steps (unlike the
balerie described in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* or the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* by Adam de la Halle). Only the description of the first lady stepping forward ("s'est avanciee"), the words "redit" and "reconnemecé" and the line "Ceste n'ot pas dure III. tours" (528), which immediately follows the second rondet, make any kind of allusion to the course of the dancing. They seem to imply, firstly, that the second rondet lasted three "turns" (which perhaps means that the song was repeated three times), and secondly, if "redit" and "reconnemecé" could be taken to refer to the dancing as well as the singing, that each singer started up the dance again by singing a new set of words.

Neither does this passage present clear evidence that the words of a rondet were divided up between a chorus and a soloist, the former singing the refrain, and the latter the additamenta. Renart does provide soloists, by assigning each song to a different character, but here, at least, he gives no indication of choral response.

The passage describing the first session of dancing, less formally decorous than the second, contains a number of phrases which might refer to the dance, but which are even more difficult to translate into a coherent sequence of action. Unlike the second passage, the word "carole" is not actually mentioned, and the dancing itself seems to begin more spontaneously. The ladies and knights are returning to the pavilions to dine, having washed in the springs nearby. On the way, "li chevalier" begin to sing "ceste chançonete", the refrain:

\[
E \text{ non Deu, sire, se ne l'ai,}
\]
\[
\text{l'amor de li, mar l'acointai. (291-92)}
\]

This prompts a series of songs, a rondet, another refrain, and three more rondets, some sung by male, some by female soloists:

Ainz que ceste fust dite tote,
commence uns autres en la route:

\[
\text{La jus, desoz la raime,}
\]
\[
\text{einsi doit aler qui aime,}
\]
\[
\text{clere i sourt la fontaine,}
\]
\[
y\!\!a!
\]
\[
\text{Einsi doit aler qui bele amie a.}
\]

Ainz qu'ele fust bien commencie,
une pucele secorcie

55
d'un trop biau chainze, a un blont chief,
en recommence de rechief:

*Se mes amis m'a guerpie,*
*por ce ne morrai ge mie*... (293-305)

Three times, Renart tells us, another member of the company began to sing before the previous song had finished. The second time this happens, Renart describes the singer, a pretty blonde, as beginning again "de rechief" with another refrain. This combination of *rondets* and isolated *refrains* in the same description of a dance is unique in thirteenth-century romance. What does it suggest about the relation of the *refrains* to the *rondets*?

Renart's description "en recommence de rechief" could be interpreted as suggesting that the *refrains* and *rondets* form separate elements within a single continuous dance sequence, in which the second *refrain* (*Se mes amis m'a guerpie...*) begins a reprise of the dance.16 But whether or not this is the meaning of this phrase, two things are clear. First, the two *refrains* *E non Dieu* and *Se mes amis* are indeed set apart from, rather than set into the *rondets*. They also differ from the *refrains* contained within the *rondets* by being in the form of a rhymed couplet. Second, there is still no straightforward division between soloist and chorus, *refrain* and strophe. Although *E non Deu* is sung by a group of knights, *Se mes amis* is apparently sung by a single girl; while the *rondets* are all sung by individuals. And it is the *refrains* in the *rondets* which appear to have direct relevance to each soloist.17

Both these passages of dance-song in *Guillaume de Dole* represent a curious mixture of artless informality and deliberate arrangement. The singers are each introduced in an orderly sequence, but it is an order which is belied, firstly, by the cryptic allusions to the way in which each begins his or her song before the previous singer has finished, and secondly, by the inconsistencies in the form of the songs. In addition, the songs have no obvious relation to each other: they are not attached by rhyme to the narrative octosyllabics, and so could be arranged in any order without causing disruption either to the form of the *roman*, or to its plot.

The difference in style between dance-song and the *grands chants* has so far been confirmed by these examples from *Guillaume de Dole*. However, at just one point in the
romance, Renart quotes a refrain in a way which suggests that dance-song could have a larger meaning in a romance than straightforward entertainment. It illustrates the kind of poetic potential in dance-song, and in particular in refrain, which Jacques Bretel, amongst others, realised more fully sixty years later in his Tournoi de Chauvency. Since these later romans contain only refrains, it is significant that the following example from Guillaume de Dole should be an isolated refrain.

It occurs towards the end of the romance at the climax of the story, where the Emperor Conrad and his lady Lienor finally recognize each other and are able to declare their love:

De la joie qui l'en rehete
li est ciz chans dou cuer volez:

Que demandez vos
quant vos m'avez ?
que demandez vos ?
dont ne m'avez vos ?
- Ge ne demant rien
se vos m'amiez bien.

Et li autre en ont tuit chanté:

Tendez tuit vos mains a la flor d'esté,
a la flor de liz,
por Deu, tendez i ! (5104-15)

It is possible to infer from the words of the song that it is sung as a dialogue, the Emperor beginning with the question "Que demandez vos ?" and Lienor replying "Ge ne demant rien...". This is followed by a clear instance of a choral refrain, where "all the others sing" (and perhaps in performance, mime) the action of hands being stretched out towards the flower of spring. Their words, in a manner characteristic of the refrains in rondets de carole, have a very oblique relation to the amorous dialogue. As such, it is an obliquity which sharpens the juxtaposition here between public comment and personal intimacy. There is an uncomfortable sense that the lovers are on view: that a tender moment has been turned into a public spectacle.

It is significant that Renart should choose a dance-song to mark the moment in Guillaume de Dole at which the Emperor's feelings of love finally gain reciprocal
fulfilment. He prevents them from remaining in the private sphere of the grand chant, and forces them out into the public arena of the dance-song where they are exposed to public response. In particular, the medium of dance-song enables the courtly audience to participate in the event, not simply to witness it.

This scene also points to a way in which the apparently banal and hackneyed phrases of love, as they are expressed in dance-song, risk distortion in a public context. Expressions about love are of their nature as impersonal as they are personal. The expression "I love you" is at once capable of being uttered with unthinking banality and with deeply-considered sincerity. With such a range of meaning, it is an expression which can easily be misinterpreted. The phrase can mean nothing, or anything. In a song the possibility of misinterpretation can be even more acute because of the added area of response between the audience and the person who is performing the song.

The importance of the distinction here is perhaps not so much the difference between spoken and sung utterances, as between private and public circumstances. An expression of love communicated in private between two lovers (whether in sung or spoken form) runs far less risk of being misunderstood than the same expression declared in front of a larger audience. If the words, in addition, are borrowed, then the person pronouncing them is already at some kind of distance from what he is saying. He, and his listening lover, have to make an effort to turn the words to their own ends, to wrest an individual meaning from their general character. But this is an effort which is vulnerable to social pressure. Outside the more straitened circumstances of private communication, words regain the capacity for banality which, in private, can be more easily overcome or ignored. Yet while public circumstances make for difficulty for the genuine lover, for the less serious lover, they offer a welcome space for manoeuvre between sincerity and frivolity.

The example which we have just discussed shows a dance-song testing public response to a case of aristocratic love. On this occasion the dance-song has no need to take second place to the grand chant, even though it is an occasion in which the value of a sentiment is under examination. This scene from Guillaume de Dole shows that the comic confusion in the Lai d'Aristote runs deep. For even if, ordinarily, there is a clear difference in
genre and style between the high-style grand chant and the low-style dance-song, once
dance-song has been not only assimilated into the courtly world, but accorded an important
public function within it, then an understanding of it as low in style - if this also
implies simple in tone - is inadequate.19 The problem arises in trying to understand to
what extent the courtly context for dance-song in these romances modifies the tone of
dance-song. Is its 'popular' style preserved, artificially, by an aristocratic
appreciation of its innocence, or does it in fact become subsumed by aristocratic ideals,
to the extent that it ceases, in any meaningful way, to be 'popular'?

Such questions are at issue in much medieval court poetry. But to consider the use of
refrains in thirteenth-century poetic and musical genres is to discover an unusual
perspective upon this issue. For the widespread interpolation of refrains into almost
every kind of French genre in the thirteenth century indicates that there was a large-
scale attempt, physically, as it were, to force the 'courtly' and the 'popular' (or 'mock-
popular') into juxtaposition. The refrain is commonly assumed to be popular (at least in
origin) because of its association with the rustic world of Robin and Aelis. But it is
often enclosed within a context which is thoroughly aristocratic. William Empson describes
pastoral as "the process of putting the complex into the simple".20 In this sense, the
widespread technique of interpolation in this period itself often constitutes an
aristocratic re-interpretation of the rustic as pastoral. Renart demonstrates this by
introducing each rondet de carole by a reference to the courtly status of the singer. By
singing (and dancing) a rustic song, the aristocrat actually increases his own reputation
as a man "sans vilonie" (307), and one "qui mout amoit chevalerie" (530). After all, it is
for their courtly value that Renart recommends his songs in his own Prologue.

This process of re-interpretation not only affects literary tone, but musical tone as
well. The rhythmic interpretation of individual monophonic genres is a matter of
considerable dispute among modern scholars; and when melodies from one genre are
incorporated into another, such as in the motet, the chanson-avec-des-refrains and the
pastourelle, uncertainty about rhythm is redoubled.21 The apparent solution, in a chanson-
avec-des-refrains, of applying a single rhythmic interpretation to the different melodies in the piece, is unfortunate precisely because it smooths away the seeming awkwardness of the juxtaposition. For our analogy with literary interpolation, where the juxtaposition of tone is productive, encourages us instead to take the musical juxtapositions seriously. The new hybrid genres of the thirteenth century may be playing off a variety of musical idioms against each other in a way which is intended to heighten; rather than ignore the sense of stylistic tension.

III The refrain as a poetic device in the Roman de la Violette

While the refrain is used exclusively as an element of dance-song in Guillaume de Dole, in the Roman de la Violette it gains a variety of functions. Jacques Chailley even sees in this an explanation for the "birth" of the refrain, arguing that because of scribal laziness or confidence in the reader's memory, refrains were copied as incipits which the reader was expected to fill out himself. As we have already seen, this ignores the fact that isolated refrains first appear in Guillaume de Dole, alongside the rondets. In addition, the appearance of refrains in so many other thirteenth-century genres apart from romance, shows the assumption that the refrain was "born" in the romance to be facile. Furthermore, scribal laziness can be ruled out as a reason for the brevity of the refrains in Violette, because they are consistently attached to the narrative octosyllabics by rhyme (see the example below).

Although Chailley's arguments do not stand scrutiny, the difference he points to in the treatment of refrain in the two romans merits analysis. The opening scene of Guillaume de Dole, discussed above, has an exact counterpart in the opening scene of the Roman de la Violette. A comparison of the two scenes indicates several differences between Gerbert's and Renart's treatment of dance-song.

At first sight, Gerbert's use of refrains rather than rondets seems to be the only significant difference between the two scenes. The court has just finished dinner, and is in the mood for some carolling. Each lady chooses a knight for the dance. As in Guillaume
If we thought that Renart mentioned dance movements only incidentally, then Gerbert’s treatment is even sparer. Apart from his use of the word "commenche" which, as in Guillaume de Dole, seems to carry the implication that a singer is starting the dance with her song, the only other reference to dance-song occurs in the occasional description "karolant":

La suer au conte de Saint-Pol,…
Commenche haut, a clere note,
Ceste chanchon en karolant: (121, 124-25)

It is not that there is any ambiguity about the fact that dance-song is being described: once the refrains have all been quoted, Gerbert then describes the company arranging themselves in pairs, and taking each other by the hand, the king looking on at the head of the hall (a scene faithfully depicted in the magnificently illustrated manuscript of the fifteenth-century prose version of the romance). However, in the manner in which he quotes the songs, Gerbert chooses to make very little concession to a literal representation of the scene:

La damoisiele de Couchi,
Cui Dex fache vraie merchi,
Qui molt fu avenans et biele,
A dit ceste canchon nouviele,
Car ele amoit bien par amor:

Seulete vois a mon ami;
S’ai grant paor.

Li castelainne de Nior,
C’on apieloit Alfenor,
Molt estoit cointe, un poi brunete,
Puis a dit ceste cançonnete,
Qu’ele n’estoit mie esperdue:

Aprendés a valoir maris,
Ou vous m’avés perdue. (129-42)

Whereas in Guillaume de Dole, the songs were linked together in the narrative so as to suggest a rudimentary dancing sequence, here each refrain is sung as if quite separately
de Dole, a lady begins:

Commenche tout premierement
A chanter ma dame Nicole;...

Alés bielement que d'amer me duel. (98-99, 104)

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A dit ceste canchon nouviele,
Car ele amoit bien par amor:

Seulete vois a mon ami;
S'ai grant paor.

Li castelainne de Nior,
C'on apieloit Alienor,
Molt estoit cointe, un poi brunete,
Puis a dit ceste cançonnete,
Qu'ele n'estoit mie esperdue:

Aprendés a valoir maris,
Ou vous m'avés perdue. (129-42)

Whereas in Guillaume de Dole, the songs were linked together in the narrative so as to suggest a rudimentary dancing sequence, here each refrain is sung as if quite separately
from the others. What is striking, in other words, is not the faithfulness with which the passage conveys the scene, but, on the contrary, its stylisation. There are seven singers altogether (all female), and the poet describes each in the same way: first he informs us of her identity, then he lists her attractive features, and finally, (except in two cases) gives a brief emotional reason for her choice of refrain. For instance, the "damoisiele de Couchi" sings "Car ele amoit bien par amor" (133); while Alienor sings her refrain "Qu'ele n'estoit mie esperdue" (140).

The order of singers and refrains is not so much an order of events, as a rhetorical order, well balanced and with a clear principle of repetition: one singer, one refrain, and three elements of description each time. Unlike Renart, Gerbert has taken care to rhyme the refrains with the narrative lines: so that the line immediately preceding a refrain rhymes with the second line of a two-line refrain, or with the last two lines of a three-line refrain. To augment the stylisation of the description even further, the narrative cues in between each refrain are of a similar length, as if they were five-line strophic sections.

For these reasons, it is clear that Gerbert's use of refrains rather than rondets is far from accidental. Instead, the refrains fit into a carefully organised rhetorical scheme. It might be argued that the refrains are still acting as abbreviated forms of rondets. Yet it is notable that Gerbert himself does not present the refrains as incomplete. He does not remark of any singer that 'she started by singing this' or that 'they replied with this'. On the contrary, he quotes each refrain as if it were a complete solo song (a characteristic of works as late as Machaut's Remède de Fortune). Moreover, within the same passage, Gerbert makes two different uses of refrain, leaving their connection with rondets further behind.

The first occurs near the start of the passage:

Apriés cheli une canta,
Qui clere vois et boin chant a,
Ele ert ducoise de Bourgoigne;
Son ami par le main enpoigne,
Puis li a dit: «Amis, cantés:

Alés cointement et seri,
If we consider this excerpt as self-contained for a moment, we can see that it bears a closer resemblance to the balerie in Le Tournoi de Chauvency, than it does to the depiction of rondets de carole in Guillaume de Dole. A Duchess is inviting her lover to dance, both by taking him physically by the hand and by singing the refrain, the words of which continue her spoken request in a sung form. As this short piece of narrative stands, it seems to suggest in embryonic detail a miniature piece of dramatised 'love-play'. However hard we try to read behind the rhetorical 'front' of the romance text, there is no suggestion that the couple actually sang a rondet together, of which only the refrain has been quoted. No other people - in the shape of a chorus - are involved, nor does the refrain appear to require any lyric response in order to round out the situation. On the contrary, we seem to be witnessing a private invitation to dance, made public and formal by being put into sung form.

The second example concerns two refrains sung by Gerart. As befits the hero, he is introduced last in the scene, his prowess as a singer having been described already in exuberant terms. He is asked to perform by one of the company, and obliges with the first strophe of a song attributed to Gace Brulé. As soon as he finishes this, as the narrator says, love prompts him to sing a "cançonnete a karole":

\[ J'ai amours fait a mon gré, \\
Miels en vaurra ma vie. \]  
(204-05)

Although the refrain is described as a carole, Gerbert is not dancing to it. Instead he follows it with a speech about his own lady which begins by taking up the words of the refrain:

«Miels en doit valoir sans mentir... \]  
(206)

He concludes his speech with a second refrain:

Et pour chou qu'il me souvient ore \\
De li, chanterai jou encore \\
Ceste chanson, pas ne lairai:

\[ Dont n'ai jou droit que m'envoie, \\
Quant la plus biele amie ai? \]  
(234-38)

This second refrain acts as a fitting rhetorical climax to his remarks about his love. It
is an artfully artless moment: the refrain enacting its words by being an irrepressible expression of his pleasure in being in love.

Within the same court scene in the Roman de la Violette, we thus see refrains being used both as a representation of dance-song; and as songs independent of dance, sung because they express a lover's sentiments concisely and aptly. There is no contradiction between these two roles of refrain, which represent the two main characteristics of refrain-citation throughout the century. The very fact that Gerbert can pass so naturally from one use of refrain to another shows that for him there is no essential difference between the two. It is precisely the refrain's characteristic of epitomising a lover's mood which acts as the primary impetus of a dance-song.

The relation between Guillaume de Dole and the Roman de la Violette is intriguing because, although close in date, they show a different bias in their use of song. It is very tempting (as Chailley found) to seize on this as an explanation of the origin of the refrain, as if Le Roman de la Violette represented the first point at which the refrain gained its independence. We have discussed the reasons why Chailley's account of the process by which the refrain arose does not fit the evidence. But the disparity between Renart's and Gerbert's handling of song still requires explanation.

One final detail from the scene in Guillaume de Dole which we have been discussing offers a clue to the solution of the problem. Several commentators have observed Renart's self-confessed tendency towards nostalgia with respect to his inclusion of chansons de toile, songs which the narrative claims to belong to a older time (lines 1148ff.) But at the end of this passage, Renart shows himself to be nostalgic about dance-song, too, when he comments with heavy irony that times have changed since those days of joyful chivalry when carefree dancing scenes like these took place:

Que de Robin que d'Aaliz,  
tant ont chanté que jusqu'as liz  
onf faites durer les caroles.  
Se sire Oedes de Ronqueores  
trovast tel roi, ce fust barnez.  
Mes li tens est si atornez  
qu'en ne troeve mes qui bien face:  
por ce s'enledist et efface

64
chevalerie hui est li jors. (548-56)

There is a possibility, therefore, that the dance-songs which Renart quotes are themselves old-fashioned. Renart, in other words, could be recreating a highly idealised atmosphere of spontaneous entertainment, using songs which were already invested with sentimentality. Nostalgia is, in fact, a familiar note in medieval romance from Chrétien to Malory. But its particular application here to dance-song seems no accident. If Renart is using dance-song polemically to represent long-lost courtly innocence and propriety, it would be in his interests to present the songs in a deliberately ‘authentic’ manner. From this point of view, the very casualness with which he introduces the songs could be an indication of his desire to avoid too much aristocratic polish.

This argument recalls an influential point first made by Edmond Faral about the chansons de toile which Renart quotes. Instead of taking Renart at his word that the songs are literally from an archaic past, Faral argues that the songs are ‘modern’ reproductions, carefully created to present an archaic impression.(p.453) If we compare Gerbert with Renart, we find no such references to nostalgia. Furthermore, he takes much greater poetic advantage of the refrain than Renart. The difference between the two poets is to be located not in the chronological development of the refrain from the rondet (this must have happened earlier, if indeed the development took place in this direction) but in the fact that they had a different approach to dance-song. Renart wished nostalgically to preserve it in all its artless purity; Gerbert, not so concerned with the cause of polemic, explored the potential of the refrain as a poetic device.

This is demonstrated by the prominence Gerbert gives in the rest of the romance to the verbal character of the refrains. We have already seen how he uses refrains to support and augment the hero’s own description of his state of love at the start of the romance.27 Later in the plot, he gives refrains a more playful role by exploiting the possibilities of misappropriation which we earlier saw treated comically in the Lai d’Aristote. Two female characters are involved: Aiglente, the daughter of a Duke with whom Gerart stays for a while, and her maid Flourentine. Both women fall in love with Gerart at the same time, a situation which provokes jealousy between them. Gerart, still in love with his
lady Eurialut from whom he has been separated, at first rebuffs any advances. Aiglente, however, manages to win his love for a time by means of a magic potion, but the spell eventually breaks when Gerart’s falcon catches a lark which has Eurialut’s ring round its neck. The poet interrupts this series of events with songs, timing them in such a way that they either impel the action forward, or act as an ironic commentary upon it.

The first stirrings of jealousy between Aiglente and Flourentine are caused entirely by songs which they each overhear the other singing. Alone in her room and painfully in love, Aiglente sings:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{En non Diu, c'est la rage} \\
\text{Li dous maus d'amer,} \\
\text{S'il ne m'asouage.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3123-25)

Flourentine overhears the song in the next room. Guessing the emotional cause of it, she sings back pointedly:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vous cantés et je muir d'amer:} \\
\text{Ne vous est gaires de mes maus ?} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3141-42)

As a retort, the song succeeds perfectly: just like Marcellina and Susanna in Le Nozze di Figaro, the two women first exchange spiteful remarks, then stop speaking to each other altogether.

Successive developments in their relations to each other and to Gerart continue to be prompted by the overhearing of songs. Thus when Aiglente hears Gerart singing affectionately of his "douche dame" in a strophe from a chanson by Audefroi le Bâtard she takes him to be thinking of her, whereas he is thinking of Eurialut. He tries to explain that she has misunderstood, but the situation is not fully resolved until Aiglente asks Gerart to sing directly to her, still hoping to find encouragement for her own feelings. Gerart, however, takes the opportunity to make his true position even clearer, singing with candid brutality:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Je ne le voi mie chi} \\
\text{Cheli dont j'atenc ma joie.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3331-32)

What is striking about the songs in this passage is the extent of the narrative pressure upon their meaning. Their generalised sentiments are intended and taken very
particularly by the individual characters; but this leaves wide open the possibility of misapprehension, a factor which in turn becomes the main impulse of the narrative action. Emotions are stirred up and then deflated again for equally wrong reasons; feelings expended on the wrong person who nonetheless eagerly snatches at them.

The refrains themselves, both in this passage and throughout the roman, are for the most part well-known: for example, *En non Diu* (Boogaard, refr.665) also occurs in a chanson (R33) and a motet (M271); *Vous cantés* (Boogaard, refr.1855) occurs in one chanson-avec-des-refrains (R1377). But there are also signs that Gerbert occasionally tailors a chanson or a refrain to suit a situation. For instance, *Je ne le voi* (Boogaard, refr.1106) is unique to Violette, which perhaps explains its blunt appropriateness. While slightly later in the scene, Aiglente, having just experienced her rebuff from this refrain, sings a variation of the refrain *Vous cantés*, originally flung at her by Flourentine:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ki set garir des maus d'amer,} \\
&\text{St viegne a moi, que je me muir.} \\
\end{align*}
\]  
(Boogaard, refr.1614)

This variation is again unique to Violette. Its careful echo of Flourentine's earlier outburst has the effect of sharpening our sense of the parallel situation of the two women, and suggests a deliberate hand.

IV The later thirteenth century: *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*

The line of development in the use of refrains taken by Gerbert was continued by other poets such as Jaques Bretel into the latter part of the century. The many links between early and late thirteenth-century works are of a kind which suggests that the tradition had become increasingly self-conscious. For instance, often the same refrains re-occur sixty years later, a period in which one might expect fashions, both social and literary, to change. Refrains from the early thirteenth-century *Roman de la Poire* are quoted in the late thirteenth-century *Renart le Nouvel*, for example, and although no refrains from the two early romances occur in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* itself, one refrain from the *Roman de la Violette* also re-appears in *Renart le Nouvel* which has several refrains in common with *Le Tournoi*.29
Compared with the *Roman de la Violette*, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* lacks no spontaneity in its use of *refrains*; indeed its freshness as a work is confirmed by the way in which Bretel ascribes historical accuracy to his composition. As Delbouille, the work's most recent editor, remarks: "Le soin avec lequel le poète précise la date et les circonstances où il a entrepris l’élaboration de son récit, témoigne d’un souci d’exactitude dont il ne se départera pas dans la suite." (p.lix) Bretel presents his work as an eyewitness account of a tournament which he says took place in Chauvency under the hospitality of the Comte de Chiny, in October, 1285. He even tells us the exact date on which he started his book, the 8th.September, 1285, and fills his account with hints of the care which he took to write down then and there details of what was happening:

Et l’escoutai et mis en brief,  
S’en fis ma jouste courte et brief  
Pour une autre plus tout retraire (2107-09)

The work is replete with historically accurate details of the people present; and the fourteenth-century illustrations which accompany the Oxford manuscript echo the text’s precision in their heraldic insignia. Into such an event as a tournament, songs fit entirely naturally: they are integral to the atmosphere of courtly entertainment to which the whole work is committed, and in which it participates.

For these reasons, there is a teasing verisimilitude about *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*. The spontaneity which Bretel is at pains to present is so highly polished that it is impossible to decide where entertainment is being created by the poet, or where it is being reflected from an actual occasion. Such a moment occurs just after Bretel's description of a dialogue exchanged on the fourth evening between a knight and a lady. The poet begins by explaining to his audience how he overheard the pair talking, and that, from admiration, he cannot forbear from repeating now their speeches. Their words follow, given formality and propriety by being presented as two consecutive set-pieces. When the "parlement" is concluded, the lady summons Bretel himself to entertain them with some new compositions. It is a witty moment of double reflection, for Bretel shows the pair of courtiers contributing to a piece of entertainment in the same breath as they are asking...
to be entertained themselves.

Nothing illustrates this delicately mutual relationship between social and literary ‘game’ more than the enclosed refrains. We noticed in the Roman de la Violette how one of the refrains in the opening scene turns a spoken request into song, thus subtly shifting a private moment into a public register:

<Amis, cantés:
Alés cointement et seris,
Se vous m’amés. (109-11)

Yet the movement remains in an embryonic state; Gerbert leaves the situation undeveloped and in mid-air. Bretel, however, on the third evening of the tournament, shows the same idea expanded into a larger scene. The passage contains seven refrains which involve a series of personal encounters within a defined group of people. Although each encounter is private on its own terms, the refrains serve to link them all into a more stylised activity, not quite formal enough to be called a game, but with its own sense of heightened play.

The scene begins with Bretel’s isolation of a particular couple, Renaut de Trie and Jehenne d’Auviler, holding each other by the hand as they dance. Renaut sings:

*Hé, tres douce Jehannette,-*
*Vos m’avéz mon cuer emblé!* (2454)

Jehenne, as Bretel recounts, looks closely at her partner, then turns as she dances, and replies:

*Onques mais n’amai !-
*Hé Diex, bone estrainne:-
*Encommencé l’ai!* (2462)

Bretel, following every movement and flicker of response, immediately comments with gossipy knowingness:

En mon cuer pansai: «Se me samble,
«Dont avenez vos bien ensamble.»
Trestuit ont respondu la dame... (2463-65)

Then follows another couple; this time the girl makes the advance:

*Clere blondete sui, a mi, -
Lassette, et si n’ai point d’ami!* (2478)

Turning from onlooker into participant, Bretel himself responds first to this indirect,
but unsubtle invitation:

   Je respondi: «C’est grans damaiges
   Quant si biaus cors, si biaus visaiges
   Est sans amors;... (2479-81)

He calls on someone present to rectify the situation and claim her in song in front of them all. It is Jehans d’Oiseler who obliges, singing "Si haut que tuit l’ont entendu":

   Améz moi, blondete, améz,-
   Et je n’amérai se vos non ! (2490)

The scene continues with an increasing interplay between refrains and speech - the refrains prompting longer spoken replies, and these replies in turn being encapsulated in further refrains.

Passages such as these in Le Tournoi de Chauvency show considerable continuity with the work of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil. Perhaps because of its ambiguous position somewhere between fictional and social play, Le Tournoi de Chauvency shows a considerable sophistication in its handling of refrains. In Bretel’s hands, dance-song gains a wide range of meaning: from round-dances to set-piece Jeux such as the "Jeu du chapelet" which we discussed in the last chapter, to more intimate love-games. In the latter, the singing of refrains creates a certain social frisson caused by the playing out of relationships in front of an audience, using words which are at once intimate and impersonal.

V ‘The Arras school’

We have just seen refrains take on an impressive range of social functions in Le Tournoi de Chauvency: is there any evidence to suggest that other authors consciously imitated Bretel’s technique? The final part of this chapter will try to give a historical context to several late thirteenth-century works, and show specific connections between them.

Although the author of Le Tournoi refers to himself as Jacques Bretel, there remains a mystery as to his exact identity. His surname was well known in the minstrel circles of
Arras in the mid-thirteenth century because of Jehan Bretel, a compatriot of Adam de la Halle, and a prolific composer of *jeux-partis*, who died in 1272. Jehan’s grandfather, who died in 1230, was called Jacques; furthermore, in 1260, there was a "maître Jacques Bretel", related to Jehan, who was a canon at Notre-Dame in Arras. Langlois thought it very possible that the author of *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* came from the same family. This can be no more than a conjecture, for as Delbouille points out, Jacques Bretel shows such familiarity with the Lorraine area in his poem that it seems possible that he came from there rather than from Arras (p.1vi). But there is no reason why knowledge of the Lorraine area should preclude an association with Arras. Furthermore, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* has such strong associations with works of a similar date produced at Arras or nearby at Lille in the same period, that Langlois’s conjecture is worthy of more notice.

An examination of the *refrains* in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* reveals that several are shared by other compositions which originate from nearby towns in this northern region of France. The work which contains the largest number of *refrains* in common with *Le Tournoi* is Jacquemart Giélée’s *Renart le Nouvel*. These two works share more *refrains* - five - than any other two works in Boogaard’s *roman* category. Giélée was from Lille, about thirty miles from Arras. His *roman*, the only member of the Renart corpus to contain *refrains*, employs them in scenes and situations which show a considerable resemblance not only to *Le Tournoi*, but also to *La Court de Paradis* and the anonymous continuation of Mahieu le Poirier’s *Le Court d’Amours*. All these works share *refrains* in a complex pattern of connections.

Not only are the *refrains* themselves shared amongst the *romans*, but the *romanciers* make use of the *refrains* in a way that suggests that they are employing a common *topos*. *Renart le Nouvel* occurs in two parts, each of which recounts the enmity between Renart and Noble. Both parts end with a reconciliation which is celebrated with a feast. The final scene in the poem depicts the ceremonial entry of Noble’s court into Renart’s castle, Passe-Orgeuil. Groups of *refrains* are sung during these two feasts, and in love-scenes between Renart and his three paramours; but the largest concentration of songs (amounting to two-thirds of the total number of *refrains*) occurs in the final court procession.
Here, as in *Le Tournoi*, miniature scenes are played out between pairs of lovers, such as Renart and Hersent, the monkeys Bourse and Symons, "Beline le brebis" and "Belins li moutons". In many exchanges, the affair is complicated by a third party: thus when "Cointeriaus" (another monkey) overhears Symons sing to Bourse ("A ma dame servir / Ai mis mon cuer et moi"), this is a cause for "grant doel" (6780). Just as Bretel emphasised that the *refrains* were sung loudly enough for all to hear ("Si haut que tuit l'ont entendu"), so Renart's *refrain* "bien fu escoutés":

\[ A boine dame loiaus sui donnés. (6748) \]

Hersent, overhearing, reddens with annoyance, and sings in retort:

\[ Et quant Hersens chou entendi, \\

De honte li frons li rougi. \\

Lors canta a haute alenee:

\[ Fausse amour, je vous doins congïé, \\

J'ai plus loiaus trouvee. (6749-53) \]

The highly condensed, and formulaic way in which these situations are delineated is deftly economic: Jacquemart gives the impression that he is applying an established poetic technique to give a fresh twist to an old theme, and not that he is experimenting with a raw, untried device.

*La Court de Paradis* and *Le Court d'Amours*

Both *La Court de Paradis* and the continuation of *Le Court d'Amours*, as their titles suggest, are also centred upon a court. *La Court de Paradis* translates the secular court setting into a heavenly one, peopled not with lords and ladies but with the prophets, saints and martyrs, presided over by the Virgin Mary and Christ. All engage in a heavenly dance, addressing each other in secular *refrains* which are often (though not always) given a religious cast. To take a typical example, the *refrain* which appears in several other contexts as

\[ Toz li cuers me rit de joie \\

Quant la voi \]

gains this heavenly substitution in *La Court de Paradis*:

72
Touz li cuers me rit de joie
Quant Dieu voi. (504-05)36

The ease with which the author of La Court de Paradis is able to make this kind of translation (both in the detail of the refrains and in the larger setting of the poem) suggests his ready familiarity with the idea of the court scene with refrains. His is not an accomplished work, for he does not succeed in allowing the refrains to grace the scene. Instead they manage only to strike a note of awkward gaiety, which strains to avoid absurdity. But despite its clumsiness, La Court de Paradis shows itself to be a variation on a theme, something which could only exist if there were a theme strong enough to support variation. If Renart le Nouvel was indeed its model, this would also help to explain the anonymous author's difficulty in controlling the tone of his work. For while the substitution of God for a young girl in the above refrain risks nothing that was not already part of a well-established tradition of sacred and secular translation, the substitution of Christ and his heavenly company for a troupe of lecherous animals runs much closer, and far more uneasily, to farce.

Le Court d'Amours, which occurs in a single thirteenth-century manuscript (BN n.a.fr.1731), concerns a court in more than one sense. For the aristocratic community which it describes has come together to form a court of law in order to try questions of love, and to hear love complaints.37 Much of the poem is taken up with these proceedings in which individual characters pose love problems, which are then resolved by the presiding judge, the God of Love. But the legal framework subsequently evolves into a series of allegorical adventures, during which the court of lovers is forced to engage in battles with Envie and her followers. At this point the poem ends with the rubric "Explicit le court d'amours que Mahix li porriers fist." However, two more poems follow in the manuscript. The first of these is a short piece called the Ju de la Capete Martinet, which contains a single refrain (Boogaard, No.1418). This is followed in turn by a piece which begins without a rubric immediately after the Ju. This piece continues the story of Le Court d'Amours, but has no scribal identification apart from the final rubric "Explicit de le court d'amours". It is in this anonymous continuation that refrains
appear. The sequel carries on with the allegorical adventures. A grand tournament is declared, but this degenerates into further pitched battles between the lovers and Envie. After one particularly bloody clash, the ladies try to cheer their wounded knights by spending the whole night in dancing and singing. Thirty-three of the company sing refrains. Suitably refreshed, the lovers go on to defeat Envie and her followers, and are able to re-establish their court. More love questions are heard. After a week’s session, the court adjourns and the lovers part.

The scribal rubrics tell us that the otherwise unknown Mahieu le Poirier is the author of the first *Le Court d’Amours*, but about the other pieces they are silent. However, there are various reasons for connecting the author of the *suite* (at least) with the Hainault region, since, among other details, the Count of Hainault has a principal role in the poem, and the Hainault town of Mons is chosen as the place for the reunion of all the world’s lovers in v.1668. Whether or not the author of the *suite* can be identified with Mahieu le Poirier (as Terence Scully discusses inconclusively) is not at issue here. What is of interest to us is Scully’s conclusion that the *suite* was written by a man who:

\[\text{ait été un temps, comme Jean de Condé, à la cour du comte de Hainaut, Guillaume III, et qu’il ait composé cette suite de la Court d’Amours...comme une forme de flatterie.} \quad (p.xxii)\]

Hans Jauss makes the further interesting suggestion that the three works formed a trilogy in performance, with the short *Ju de le Capete Martinet* acting as an interlude between the two halves of the *Court d’Amours*.

Scully places the date of both parts of the *Court d’Amours* between 1277 and 1328. The *suite* alone must have been composed after 1304 on the basis of the dates of one of the historical characters mentioned in it. It thus comes at the end of the group of four works which we have been discussing. Nonetheless, it bears closest resemblance to the earliest of these, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*. The parallels are numerous, and include - apart from details of the action - the tournament, and the use of historical characters in the dancing scenes. Yet the series of thirty-three refrains in *Le Court d’Amours* form a longer...
complete sequence than any of the similar scenes in Le Tournoi. In this respect, then, it resembles more closely the long final processional scene in Renart le Nouvel, in which some thirty-five refrains are sung.

However, the tone of Le Court d'Amours borrows not the abrupt, often mocking humour of Renart le Nouvel, but rather the sense of a social arena found in Le Tournoi. Each time, the author emphasises that individual characters sing not privately, but in front of the entire company: "devant toute le compengnie" (3368); "devant les autres conmencha" (3341); "si canta...entre sez compengnetes" (3351-53). And, each time, the response of the company is also mentioned: "Cascuns respondi liement" (3354); "Chix refrains fu bien respondus" (3416); "Bien fu le dame respondue" (3479); "De respondre bien se penoient / tout chil qui a le feste estoient" (3488-89). This is the most explicit evidence yet of refrains being sung by soloists and not by a chorus: the company replies to the refrains, not with them.

This stylised presentation of the refrains is also reflected in the poet's variety of metrical and rhyming schemes. Sometimes he rhymes only the last octosyllabic line before a refrain with the refrain itself, if the refrain has only one rhyme:

\[
\text{si canta pour li acquitier} \\
\text{chest cant chi moult joliement:} \\
\text{J'ai le capelet d'argent,} \\
\text{et bel ami a men talent.} \\
\]
\[\text{(3606-09)}\]

But at others he adopts a more complex scheme whereby he not only uses a rime croisée for the last two narrative lines and the refrain lines, but also adapts the narrative lines to match the metre of the refrain lines:

\[
\text{si dist, car bien en fu maistresse,} \\
\text{chest cant, pour chou c'on voie} \\
\text{de sez pensés:} \\
\text{Amés ! Pour avoir goie} \\
\text{mix en vaurés.} \\
\]
\[\text{(3476-78)}\]

We thus have an interesting example of an author who does not adapt the refrain to fit his narrative, but on the contrary, alters the metre of his narrative in order to fit the refrains. For this reason, he also, unusually, enables the metre and lineation of the refrain to be unambiguous, where, more commonly, owing to the inconsistencies of scribal lineation, they are difficult to establish.40
It should now be clear that the concordances between the refrains of *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, *Renart le Nouvel*, *La Court de Paradis*, and *Le Court d'Amours*, can be matched by a further pattern of literary parallels. While *Renart le Nouvel* owes a great deal to *Le Tournoi*, it in turn acts as a model for *La Court de Paradis*. *Le Court d'Amours*, furthermore, draws from both *Le Tournoi* and *Renart le Nouvel* together. All four works can be drawn together by their common use of a single literary topos: the court-scene-with-refrains, itself a development from *Guillaume de Dole*. We can see, in other words, that these four poets did more than simply insert songs into works which had a pre-existent definition in terms of a specific genre. The court setting for an extended sequence of refrains has become a stable framework in its own right, for it appears as a set piece from work to work. The roman à refrains has established its own generic characteristics.

*Renart le Nouvel* and the *Puy de Lille*

In view of their proximity in date, and probable proximity in location, is it possible to tie these romans more closely to any of the puyys known to be flourishing in Lille, Arras and Cambrai in this period? One such attempt has been made by Boogaard in connection with *Renart le Nouvel*.41 His argument is complex and highly detailed, and he does not always map out its stages very clearly, but it is worth summarising here because of the importance of its implications.

Boogaard begins by analysing the relations between the refrains quoted by the four manuscripts in which *Renart le Nouvel* appears (BN f.fr.25566 = V; f.fr.372 = C; f.fr.1581 = L; and f.fr.1593 = F). As we observed in the last chapter, at first sight the relations are highly complicated: no two manuscripts contain the same number of refrains, nor do they present them in the same order. Many of the refrains are repeated within a manuscript. However, Boogaard is able to resolve the apparent confusion of this situation by showing that it contains a neat logic. For every time that a refrain is displaced among the four manuscripts, it is given to a different character to sing. As Boogaard explains:

Ainsi on ne trouve jamais que le refrain attribué à Renart dans un ms soit déplacé et mis dans la bouche du même Renart à un autre endroit du texte. Non, c'est toujours un animal différent qui chante ! (p.341)
He argues in fact for a principle of alternation between male and female characters, dependent not on narrative considerations, but upon the alternation of male and female voices (p.340). Further to this, he also observes that refrains tend to be quoted in the roman to herald some kind of action - the start of a new scene, for instance, or the entrance of a new character.

He then studies the provenance of the refrains in Renart le Nouvel among rondeaux, chansons, motets, and finally among other romans. His analyses reveal two significant connections, both of which, he argues, point to a common source. The first of these is the connection with Le Tournoi de Chauvency which we have already discussed. In addition to this, he finds that a considerable proportion of the refrains in Renart le Nouvel can be found in songs - mainly ballettes and pastourelles - contained in the Oxford chansonnier Douce 308 (Trouvère MS I). This is one of the manuscripts in which Le Tournoi de Chauvency is preserved.

One of the Renart le Nouvel manuscripts (L) makes reference to a puy:

Biele Courtoisie  
A de ce fait Amours  
Lille le jolie  
Que li puis est resours. (6964)

In view of this, Boogaard revives a suggestion made as early as 1886 by Schwan, that Douce 308 represents a collection of pieces for a puy.

The conclusion he draws runs as follows. The manuscripts of Renart le Nouvel represent not different scribal copies of a single original work, but four libretti for four consecutive performances of the roman. He takes the dates written into each manuscript at verses 7753-54 to be the dates of each respective performance. L, dated 1288, represents the first performance, a fact which the hero of the work celebrates in his final refrain, referring to the restoration of the puy. In subsequent years - 1289, 1290 and 1292 (the dates mentioned in the other three manuscripts) - this refrain lost its topicality, and so was replaced. In order to explain why so many other songs were displaced each time, Boogaard suggests that it was done in order to provide variety for the performers of the work, who if they remained the same year after year, could either keep their parts but be
able to sing new refrains, or, conversely, change parts and be able to sing the same refrains as they sang in the previous year.

Despite Boogard's caution at several stages of his argument, it is difficult for him to anticipate fully the objection that his evidence is insufficient and fragmentary. In particular, his attempt to identify Douce 308 with the very puy at which Renart le Nouvel (in the form of manuscript L) was first performed in 1288, is not convincing. The dialect of Douce 308 is Lorraine, not Artois. And while he has shown, quite brilliantly, how the apparent muddle of manuscript disagreements over refrains has a clear performance logic, his explanation for this in practice is weak, relying as it does on the somewhat unlikely psychological premise that the performers of the work would object to singing the same refrains each year.

More evidence would be needed, then, to attach Renart le Nouvel to particular puys. Nonetheless, Boogard's hypothesis about the four manuscripts of Renart le Nouvel does have considerable attractions. For his work suggests a new way of understanding the relation between the four manuscripts which editors of the poem have found problematic in the past because they have tried to resolve it from a purely textual standpoint. Roberts, for instance, tried to argue that the manuscripts represent two "editions" of the work made by Gielée, one perhaps in 1288, the other in 1292. But Boogard's insistence on understanding the work as something that was performed, not only makes better sense of the manuscripts, it also does better justice to the dramatic character of the work.

Boogard does not examine the physical layout of the manuscripts themselves - in fact this evidence has altogether been overlooked. However, even a cursory glance at them tends to support his suggestion. Three (V, C, F) contain full musical notation for the refrains, and the fourth, not quite completed, contains red staves above every refrain, and notation for just one song on fol.48v. Such consistent indications of music in all four manuscripts is comparatively rare amongst romans containing songs. This does not, I think, imply that songs were (in general) rarely performed during the recitation of these works, but rather that the manuscripts of Renart le Nouvel are an unusually full and informative
reflection of performance practice.

The manuscript of *Renart le Nouvel* which gives the strongest impression that it records decisions of performance is BN f.fr.1593 (F), the third in date (1290). It is neither neat nor beautifully finished. It strikes the modern reader very much as a well-thumbed, working performance copy, covered in annotations, and worked over by several different scribes. These annotations are particularly intriguing for the way in which they seem to lend support to Boogaard’s argument by turning the manuscript into something resembling a play-book.\(^{46}\)

All the *refrains* have the name of the character (or characters) who sings them written in the margin, such as "Pinte la geline" or "Canteriaus le fils chaunticler" on fols.52r ff. In addition, at the start of the *roman* on fols.2v-3r, the names of nearly all the principal characters are written beside the lines which contain their names: Ysengrins, Hersenz, Pincars and so on. This is reminiscent of the scribe’s practice in the *Robin et Marion* manuscript BN f.fr.1569, where he gives a key to the names of all the characters in the play at the bottom of the first page. On this analogy, the scribe of F is giving a cast-list of all the principal characters in *Renart le Nouvel*. There are many other more obscure annotations, including single letters such as *s*, *t*, *l*, *a*, and *b*, and numerous crosses and dashes. That these are not merely trifling doodles is indicated by the way in which the fourth scribe in the manuscript, whose job seems largely to have been to repair torn sections of it, faithfully copies them all out alongside the portions of text or music which he is inserting.

The miniatures in C and L give further support to the notion that the different animal parts in *Renart le Nouvel* were played by human actors. For, as Boogaard points out, there are two types of miniature: those that depict real animals, and those which show animals in quasi-human postures and dress.\(^{47}\) These last have their closest parallel in the far more finely-drawn miniatures of the *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript (BN f.fr.146).\(^{48}\) The final miniatures in C and L, moreover, seem to be not merely illustrative of events in the narrative, but possible representations of the way in which the work was performed. They are both large-scale pictures of Fortune and her wheel elaborated by many smaller drawings.
of animals, including two figures on horseback holding scrolls.

The presence of so many animal characters in these miniatures suggests that they are not ordinary representations of Fortune, but pictures of the final tableau of the performance in which all the actors participated. We have evidence of such a tableau being used in performance in Adam de la Halle’s Jeu de la Feuillée.49 Here Fortune and her wheel are part of the fairies’ entourage. Fortune forms a dumb show in front of the audience, to which the fairy actors provide a running commentary. One of the characters, Crokesos, asks whether the people round the rim of Fortune’s wheel are real. In the dialogue which follows allusions are made to the exact nature of the tableau. One of the fairies explains that it is an allegorical show in which the woman holding the wheel has been "Muiele, sourde, et avulee" ("dumb, deaf and blind" (772)) since birth. She then comments that Fortune has begun to spin the wheel, which causes Crokesos to ask the identity of the people at the top who are now falling to the bottom. It could well be, then, that this kind of mimed representation of Fortune, played by a female character holding a large, painted wheel, accompanied the scene towards the end of Renart le Nouvel in which Fortune figures.

Jacquemart Giélée, Jacques Bretel and Adam de la Halle

Boogaard’s work on Renart le Nouvel rightly emphasises the dramatic aspects of the roman. The fact that plays by Adam de la Halle have provided points of comparison is no accident. The second in date of the Renart le Nouvel manuscripts (V), better known as the ‘Adam de la Halle’ manuscript (Trouvère MS W), contains a large collection of Adam’s works. Both Adam’s dramatic jeux, Le Jeu de la Feuillée and Le Jeu de Robin et Marion, contain refrains, as does the later addition to Robin et Marion, Li Jus du Pélérin.50 Once again, refrain correspondences show a telling bias. First, no fewer than seven refrains in Renart le Nouvel occur in rondeaux by Adam.51 Then there are some more spasmodic correspondences: one refrain in Robin et Marion appears in both Renart le Nouvel and Le Tournoi de Chauvency; and one of the three snatches of song in Le Jeu de la Feuillée
reappears in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency.* Finally, refrains from all these works (*Le Tournoi de Chauvency, Renart le Nouvel, Le Court d'Amours, Le Jeu de la Feuillée, and Robin et Marion*) together with *Le Roman de la Violette, Le Roman de la Poire, and Le Roman de Fauvel,* are brought together in a single work, an anonymous *Salut d'Amour.* We know little about the provenance and date of the *Saluts d'Amour,* but this one at least, by virtue of its refrains, shows firstly, that it is very likely to be another work from the Lille-Arras region, and secondly, that all the authors in this region seem to have been drawing upon a similar stock of refrains.

Could Adam de la Halle and Jacquemart Giélée have known each other? It is very possible that they did. Adam lived in Arras from about 1250 until about 1283 when he joined the service of Robert II, Count of Artois, in Naples. He would thus have left just before *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* was written, and some five years before the "performances" of *Renart le Nouvel.* However, before his departure, he was a very prominent member of the *puy* at Arras, which is known to have organized poetic festivals with the *puys* from the neighbouring towns of Gand, Douai, Tournai and Lille. In R. Berger's words, "Arras fut en 13e. siècle le plus grand centre littéraire urbain de toute l'Europe". Berger thinks Zumthor’s figure of 180 arrageois poets in this period to be very exaggerated; nonetheless an enormous number of works can be traced to Arras, including dozens of songs and *jeux-partis, fabliaux, dits moraux, congés,* vernacular plays and *fatrasies.* Arras evidently attracted visits from many poets from neighbouring towns, especially during the large annual gatherings of the *confrerie* and the *puy.*

The *confrerie* and the *puy* were the two poetic guilds of Arras. The former, also known as the *Carité des ardents,* was a large guild of jongleurs and bourgeois citizens who elected a yearly *maior;* the *puy* a more socially select organisation which included poets from aristocratic families, who elected a yearly *prince.* Adam, although a bourgeois himself, wrote for both these guilds. His *Jeu de la Feuillée,* for instance, was probably performed at the summer festival of the *confrerie* on the Eve of the Assumption, about 1276.
Jacquemart Gielée and Adam are very likely, then, to have met on such an occasion. Adam and Jacques Bretel, too, may well have lived in the same town. Jacquemart Gielée thus possibly saw performances not only of many of Adam’s compositions, but of *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* as well.

Adam de la Halle has long been recognized as the principal figure in the flourishing musical and literary culture of thirteenth-century Arras. I suggest it is right also to regard him as a highly influential figure in the development of narratives containing songs. His influence arises from his dual position as a poet and a composer. For instance, as a musician, he used refrains from his own rondets for his motets. As the most recent musical study of Adam demonstrates, the technique of "enture" reached new levels in his work, and was developed within the entire range of his compositions. 58

*Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*

Adam’s most famous dramatic work is also the one which bears most directly upon earlier romans containing songs. *Robin et Marion* was probably first performed in Naples at Christmas in 1283. This does not mean, however, that the work was unknown in Arras. From one of the manuscripts (BN f.fr.25566) it appears that a revised version of *Robin et Marion*, with a Prologue and two pieces of interpolated dialogue, was put on in Arras around 1287. *Robin et Marion* displays a close continuity with the progress of poetic activity in Arras; it is strikingly similar, in particular, to *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, a work written just two years later.

It has often been suggested that the aristocratic audience for whom *Robin et Marion* was written influenced the character and tone of the work as a dramatised pastourelle. Adam turned away from the whimsical, black comedy of *Le Feu de la Feuille* in order to humour an aristocratic audience’s pleasure in stylised recreations of bergerie. However, it is possible to discern other kinds of impetus behind the work. Nostalgia, as I have argued, was inherent in the tradition to which *Robin et Marion* belongs. This tradition I would like to identify not simply with pastourelles and bergeries, but with the use of
songs in a romance setting: in short, with *Guillaume de Dole*.

*Robin et Marion* does not lend itself to easy classification in dramatic terms. Without being as difficult to focus generically as *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Robin et Marion* appears to stand out as an exception in early medieval drama because of the very extensive role of music in the work; it is more like a modern musical, or *opéra comique*, than a play. It has proved much more successful to place the work alongside *pastourelles* and *bergeries* than alongside contemporary vernacular plays such as Adam’s own *Jeu de la Feuillée*, *Courtois d'Arras* and *Le Miracle de Théophile*. Varty shows, for instance, how closely the opening of *Robin et Marion* follows the action narrated in the first three stanzas of one particular *pastourelle*, in which a shepherdess, singing to herself as she plays with her *chapelet*, is accosted by a knight, but rebuffs him with the refrain:

- Robins m’aime, Robins m’a,
  Robins m’a demandée, si m’ara.

Several of the refrains in *Robin et Marion* come in this way from *pastourelles*. It is equally commonplace to show that if the first part of *Robin et Marion* translates the *pastourelle* genre into a dramatic mode, then the second part of the *Jeu* is a *bergerie* "mise en action". The thread of action in *Robin et Marion* keeps dissolving, periodically and then altogether in the second part, into the enactment of rustic dances and games, such as "Le Jeu du Roi qui ne ment".61

Without denying the obvious importance of both the *pastourelle* and the *bergerie* traditions to *Robin et Marion*, it may be argued that there is a further influence upon Adam which has largely been ignored - an influence which, precisely because of its own ambiguous dramatic status, helps to clarify the nature of Adam’s work. For far from being strictly innovatory in the development of song as part of a dramatic plot, Adam’s work is in fact participating in what we have seen to be an already well-established romance tradition. Some sixty years before *Robin et Marion*, Jean Renart’s *Guillaume de Dole* is also an experiment in re-casting pastoral into a dramatic mode. By enclosing songs within the romance Renart expanded the scope of pastoral in two directions: first, by using its *champêtre* setting as the idealised setting for the activities of his romance characters,
and second, by allowing the songs themselves to be sung in that very setting. Chailley's comment on *Robin et Marion* could equally be applied to the songs in *Guillaume de Dole*, as indeed it could to many *pastourelles*. They preserve "à ses auditeurs le plaisir de retrouver au passage les refrains connus dont la présence était inhérente au sujet traité." (p.113)

Adam at once refines and simplifies this technique. His achievement can be seen more clearly alongside Bretel's very similar attempt in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*. In the light of this comparison, *Robin et Marion* stands as an expanded representation - complete in itself - of some of the dance-song routines described in Bretel's own narrative. One section of *Robin et Marion*, in particular, is remarkably similar to *Le Jeu du Chapelet*. It occurs near the beginning of the work, when Robin finds Marion after the knight has made his first attempt to seduce her. They share a picnic together, then try to decide what to do next. Robin suggests a game to test Marion's love for him. He sings:

*Bergeronnete, douche baisselete,*  
*Donnés-le-moi vostre chapelet,*  
*Donnés-le-moi vostre chapelet.*

(172-74)

There follows a dialogue in song between him and Marion, in which she asks first:

*Robin, veus-tu que je le meche*  
*Seur ton chief, par amourette?*  

(175-76)

He, in return, offers her his belt, purse and brooch. Finally, she places the *chapelet* on his head. Bretel's piece of narrative choreography which accompanies his *feu* in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, fits the scene in *Robin et Marion* very closely:

*Quant elle ot son chant définé,*  
*Deus pas avant a chemine;*  
*Au tiers a fait le tour dou pié,*  
*Son chapelet amont drecié,*  
*Et entors sez mains le tomoit,*  
*De fois en autres l'ezgardoit,*  
*Et puis sor son chief le metoit,*

(4237 - 43)

The *Chapelet* game in *Robin et Marion* turns out to be only a prelude to a longer dance, in which Marion asks Robin in song to dance a series of steps, her requests forming a patterned alternation with Robin's replies. Again, this - no doubt a traditional dance - is like a version in song of the moment just before *Le Jeu du Chapelet* in *Le Tournoi,*
where members of the company ask each other whether they know any dances:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Après le vin, s'entraîcoiterent} \\
&\text{Li uns a l'autre, et encerchierent} \\
&\text{Qui se fit faire le beguignaige,} \\
&\text{L'ermite, le pelerignaige,} \\
&\text{Le provencel, le robardel,} \\
&\text{Berengier ou le chapelet...} \quad (4181-86)
\end{align*}
\]

In its second part, \textit{Robin et Marion} also contains an acted version of "Le Jeu du roi qui ne ment", mentioned at line 2960 of \textit{Le Tournoi de Chauvency}.

In a sense, then, \textit{Robin et Marion} could be said to represent just what Bédier sought: a source for dance-song comparable to \textit{Le Tournoi de Chauvency}. Rather than attempt his own reconstructions of \textit{pastourelles}, Bédier could have found them - complete with musical notation - in Adam's work. But it is important to reinforce the point that while \textit{Robin et Marion} certainly is, in part, an excuse for reviving well-known dance-songs, it is certainly not an ingenuous work. It would be quite wrong, for instance, to think of it as naïvely folkloric, captured as if fresh from the fields. It is hard to imagine the author of \textit{Le Jeu de la Feuillée} writing anything of that nature. For if Adam does not give the dance-songs a narrative romance setting like \textit{Guillaume de Dole}, or the social reporter's context of \textit{Le Tournoi de Chauvency}, he does, nonetheless, frame them with a dialogue which adds complexity to the work's tonal character. As Richard Axton has argued, Adam's control of the naïvety of the piece is masterful: he allows it to be charmingly comic, but not by slackening his sophisticated grip on the audience's response.\textsuperscript{63} It is in this way that he comes close to Bretel, whose apparently artless reportage also retains a hold over his audience, but in a different way by the neat trick of including them as unwitting participants in the work.\textsuperscript{64}

Adam de la Halle, along with the early fourteenth-century poets Jehannot de l'Escurel, Jean de la Mote and Jehan Acart de Hesdin, has long been recognized as one of Machaut's most important precursors as a composer of lyric genres. But what has not been recognized is the more specific connection that relates all these poets: their practice of combining song with narrative or drama. This is a tradition which begins with \textit{Guillaume de Dole} early in the century, and has a continuity which can often be traced historically as well.
as interpretatively.

Of constant interest in the thirteenth-century works we have discussed has been the nature of their performance. Indeed, there is much to suggest that they are quasi-dramatic. The fact that Robin et Marion is itself a jeu should incline us to think of the other works as jeux as well, especially since the manuscripts of La Court de Paradis, and Renart le Nouvel contain musical notation in full. This survival of notation is more than a happy chance: it is further evidence, I suggest, of the puy-inspired attention to precise details of performance. Interest in performance is intrinsic to these works: for they play on the social implications of performing in public, in the loosely defined, self-conscious ‘drama’ of public posturing, role-playing and elaborate love games. A common feature of the ‘Arras school’ is the sharp taste they give to these aristocratic pursuits: whether it is the controlled naïveté of Robin et Marion, the poised pandaring of Le Tournoi de Chauvency, or the animal satire of Renart le Nouvel. From works composed throughout the century, we gain a sense of the poetic and human interest in the misapprehensions which occur when private sentiments are given a public utterance.
CHAPTER THREE

From roman to dit: song in the French love narrative

The interpolation of refrains in narrative throws the concept of genre in medieval practice into question. Many of the distinctive features of the refrain are paradoxical: its versatility is one of its most stable characteristics, and identifying it as a genre involves recognizing its essential dependence on other genres. In addition, the narratives themselves - otherwise recognizable as romans courtois, or as fabliaux - change character. It does not seem adequate to describe them in conventional generic terms, and then to add that they contain "lyric insertions". The interpolation of refrain into narrative involves new expectations about genre, creating hybrid works which demand to be compared not with other romans, but with other romans à chansons.

As we follow the tradition into the fourteenth century, these questions of generic definition become even more important. I will be discussing three different kinds of interest in genre. One example is that the composers of Saluts d'amour so increase the structural prominence of the refrains that they create a new genre which falls between lyric and dit. A second is that by quoting from their own lyric compositions written in the longer formes fixes (the ballade, virelai and rondeau), poets have the opportunity both to consider their own poetic practice, and to think afresh about generic distinctions. Thirdly, the quotation of these longer lyric forms, and also of the refrain, develops, particularly in Machaut, out of a technique of interpolation, and into one of self-citation.

To understand the full context of these later dits amoureux, it is necessary first to recapitulate chronologically and consider two thirteenth-century romans - the Chastelaine de Vergi and the Roman du Castelain de Couci - which contain not refrains, but grands chants. Their choice of song has clear implications for the use of longer lyric forms in the fourteenth century. In particular, there is a continuity between the interest they show in the reputation and poetic authority of a twelfth-century trouvére, and Machaut's
preoccupation with his own poetic authority. The concern to impute to the lyric a sentimental and poetic weight and importance - which is equally the case in the citation of *refrains* - has a telling effect upon the narrative structure of fourteenth-century works. The narrative in a *dit*, rather than existing independently of the lyrics - as in a *roman courtois* - serves to give them meaning.

This didactic tendency in the fourteenth-century *dit à chansons* is, of course, characteristic of many aspects of vernacular writing at this time, and eventually resulted in the first vernacular poetic treatises: Deschamps' *L'Art de Dictier* (1392) and the *Arts de Seconde Rhetorique*. By discussing firstly some citations of grand chants, then further citations of *refrains*, and thirdly the self-citation of lyrics in the major *dits amoureux* of Machaut, this chapter aims to show that the treatment of lyric in relation to narrative was one way poets chose openly to debate central topics of their art: the nature of genre, the fitting expression of true sentiment, and the status or authority of the poet himself.

1 The *roman courtois*

*La Chastelaine de Vergi* (early / late ? thirteenth-century) and *Le Roman du Castelain de Couci* (c.1300) were associated as early as the fourteenth century. Froissart, writing in *La Prison Amoureuse*, cites them both as representations of "des vrais amans", as proverbial in their tragic loyalty as Tristan and Yseult:

Qu'en avint Tristran et Yseus,
Qui furent si vrai amoureus ?
Le castellanine de Vregi ?
Et le castellan de Couchi,
Qui oultre mer morut de doel
Tout pour la dame de Faioel ? (217-22)

For the author of the *Livre du Chevalier de La Tour-Landry*, the two stories were examples of adultery. Deschamps, and later Christine de Pisan, however, held them in higher esteem. The Chastelaine "la très loyal nommée de Vergy" and "la dame de Fayel" are listed by Deschamps amongst women of great "onneur, bonté, senz, beauté et valeur" such as Hester, Judith, Penelope and Helen. Christine de Pisan refers to their dignified, yet extreme response to the misfortunes caused by love. In all these allusions the works are
naturally linked, forming almost as close a literary pairing as Tristan and Yseult themselves.

The terms of medieval comparison between the two romans consist in broadly convergent elements of plot: the feudal setting, the intervention of a jealous losengier, the loyalty of the lovers put to extreme test, the tragic ending. A further reason for associating them is that they both quote from chansons attributed to the twelfth-century trouvère, Gui de Couci. The Chastelaine de Vergi, an anonymous short work of barely one thousand lines, quotes just one stanza from one of the Châtelain’s most celebrated chansons: "A vos, amant, plus k’a nule autre gent". Jakemés, in the Castelain de Couci, makes a more ambitious tribute to the poet by casting him as the hero of the roman, and allowing him to sing several of his own chansons during the course of the story. Both in quoting consistently from a single trouvère, and in creating a roman in which the trouvère is able to perform his songs in the midst of his own love adventures, Jakemés composes a work unique in Old French romance: the very brief Provençal thirteenth-centuryvidas and razos of the troubadours form the closest comparison.

The quotation of chansons by the Châtelain de Couci is not, however, a feature unique to either work: Guillaume de Dole, the Roman de la Violette and Meliacin all quote songs attributed to him. Moreover, they tend to quote from the same chansons, and even the same stanzas: thus the Roman de la Violette and the Chastelaine de Vergi both quote Stanza III from "A vos, amant" (Lerond, I), a chanson which is also quoted in full in the Castelain de Couci; while Guillaume de Dole and the Castelain de Couci both quote the first stanza of "Au nouvIEL tans que mais et violette" (Lerond, V). This suggests that the quotation of Gui de Couci’s chansons developed into an interesting topos in its own right within the romans à chansons composed during the course of the thirteenth century.

If we compare moments in each roman where the same songs are quoted we find that the Castelain de Couci and the Chastelaine de Vergi contrast markedly with Guillaume de Dole and the Roman de la Violette.

The relation between narrative and lyric in La Chastelaine de Vergi has been discussed
in detail by Zumthor, and it is difficult to improve upon his succinct summary of the importance of the lyric quotation to the work as a whole:

[Les vers de la strophe] forment un tout expressif parfaitement adapté à la situation: regret d'une séparation qui apparaît comme inéluctable et entraînera la perte des divers biens octroyés par l'amour (les rendez-vous, le bel accueil, les tendres paroles, le plaisir); perspective d'une mort amoureuse. C'est là, par le moyen d'un décalage registral, comme une intervention prophétique, une prémonition condensée des événements à venir.12

The carefully chosen stanza acts as a distillation of the emotional dilemma faced by the knight at the moment when he perceives it most acutely. The knight is caught between having to confess his secret love, the secrecy of which is the very condition of its existence, and submitting to a decree which would also result in permanent separation from his lady. This choice determines the course of subsequent events, for the story remorselessly follows the bleak logic of the knight's situation. At first, perhaps, the audience hopes for some witty or magical twist to provide an as yet unforeseen escape from the dilemma, as in Lanval or Le Vair Palefroi. But by taking seriously the initial conditions of the love, the poet allows no possibility of relief. As he underlines with a pun on jeu-parti, merely by articulating the choice, the knight initiates a tragic end to his love:

que le geu a parti si fort
que l'un et l'autre tient a mort; (269-70)

It is "en tel point" that the poet brings in the trouvère's lines:

Si est en tel point autressi
com li chastelains de Couci,
qui au cuer n'avoit s'amor non,
dist en un vers d'une chançon:

Par Dieu, Amors, fort m'est a consirrer
du dous solaz et de la compaignie
et des samblanz que m'i soloi mostrer
cele qui m'ert et compaigne et amie;
et quant regart sa simple cortoisie
et les douz mos qu'a moi soloi parler,
comment me puet li cuers ou cors durer?
Quant il n'en part, certes trop est mauvês. (291-302)

One could hardly say that the narrative has been halted to accommodate the lyric stanza: rather the knight has reached a mental and emotional impasse which seems to cry out for some relief, or at least interruption. In Zumthor's terms, it is "une intervention
prophétique", yet it does not offer relief after all, but simply reiterates the same prospects of separation in the same expressions of hopeless regret. The stanza confirms the tragic procedure of the narrative, and encapsulates for the audience the drama's essential course.

That the poet refers to the *chanson* himself rather than allows a character to utter the words within the narrative has additional significance. Zumthor has remarked that "*ChV* ne présente aucune intervention d'auteur." (p.88) Yet the allusion to 'A vos, amant', self-effacing though it is, is a kind of authorial intervention. Using another poet's words he demonstrates his own sense of the poetic compression of his drama. He seems to offer the Châtelain's stanza as a gloss upon the poem. If we wanted to know the emotional essence of the narrative, he implies, this single lyric stanza would suffice.

If we turn now to the same stanza in its context in the *Roman de la Violette* the radical nature of the *Chastelaine de Vergi*'s treatment of song becomes apparent. Superficially, the stanza is introduced in a similar way. Just as the knight in the *Chastelaine de Vergi* "sovient..."

\[
\text{de la grant joie et du solaz} \\
\text{qu'il a eít...}
\]

so Gerart, the hero of the *Roman de la Violette*, is remembering his absent lady Euriaut:

\[
\text{Et nampourquant, quant l'en souvient,} \\
\text{De chanter volentés li vient,} \\
\text{Lors chante halt sans demourer:}
\]

\[
\text{Par Diu ! amours, grief m'est a consirer... (4621-24)}
\]

Since the two lovers in the *Roman de la Violette* are indeed far apart at this moment in the plot, the words of this stanza are fitting enough. However, there is little sense that the song has been specially chosen above any other. Very similar introductory formulae are used a few lines earlier when Gerart, also thinking of Euriaut, sings a refrain:

\[
\text{lors li souvint} \\
\text{D'Euriaut, et talens li vint} \\
\text{De renvoiser et de chanter;} \\
\text{Lors commenche sans arester} \\
\text{Si cler k'il fait tentir l'arbrie:}
\]

Volentiers verroie

91
Gerart is not thinking of a particular song in these cases, indeed the blankness of the formulae gives no indication that the choice of song has anything to do with the character himself. The *chanson* stanza is no more appropriate to the plot than the *refrain*, and could equally well be replaced by any other lyric expression of regret or longing.

In this respect it is instructive to compare the *Roman de la Violette* with *Guillaume de Dole*, since Renart, by contrast, does take some interest in the authorship of the *grands chants* he quotes.

A case in point is Renart’s use of the first stanza from the Châtelain de Couci’s song "Li noviaus tens et mais et violete" (Lerond, V). It occurs near the beginning of the romance. The Emperor Conrad has just heard for the first time a report of Liénor’s beauty which, as his minstrel observes, has already caused him to fall in love with her. Two stanzas from separate *chansons* are sung: the first by the Emperor and Jouglet together, the second by the Emperor alone as he wakes in the morning after a troubled night’s sleep and finds the sun streaming down onto his bed.

The pairing of the two stanzas is clearly something of a joke on Renart’s part. The first is sung "en l’onor monsegnor Gasçon":

```
Quant flors et glais et verdure s’esloigne,
que cil oisel n’osent un mot soner,
por la froidor chacuns crient et resoigne
tresq’au biau tens qu’il soloient chanter.
Et por ce chant, que nel puis oublier,
la bon’ amor dont Dex joie me doigne,
car de li sont et vienent mi penser. (846-52)
```

The second, sung "por l’amor bele Liénor", paints an opposite seasonal picture. Instead of shivering, the nightingales are in full throat, and the flowers are blooming, not retreating from the cold. Naturally the outcome is the same in each case, with the poet inspired to sing of his love. Renart’s choice of two directly contrasting stanzas is designed to show the contrivance of this kind of opening device in a *chanson*: one moment the birds are singing, the next moment they are not, yet in any case the lover is determined to sing. The remark "en l’onor monsegnor Gascon" in this light is ambiguous.
Even without the second song to qualify it, this stanza by Gace Brulé cannot be felt to fit its narrative circumstances very successfully (except in its last two lines). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Renart includes it simply as a foil to the next lyric.

Unlike Gerbert de Montreuil, Renart is always ready to acknowledge his sources for *grands chants*. As I remarked in chapter 2, the *chansons* are presented as being deliberately called to mind by Conrad in order to match his mood, as if they represented a wardrobe of sentiments from which he simply has to make a suitable choice. For example, when he is stricken with the (false) news of Liènor’s seduction he is reminded of another song by Gace Brulé:

```
Des bons vers mon segnor Gasson
li sovient, qui li font grant bien (3620-21).
```

By referring each time by name to the *trouvère* from whom he is quoting, Renart maintains his distance from them. In the *Roman de la Violette* the songs are presented as if they were spontaneous utterances; in *Guillaume de Dole* they retain their autonomy as expressions of a different experience, uttered by a different person. The character in the *roman* (usually Conrad) does not simply speak through the songs, instead he uses them as an analogy for his own experience, and Renart leaves space in this disjunction between character and poet for his own implied authorial comment. In this sense, then, *Guillaume de Dole* emerges as far closer in its handling of song to the *Chastelaine de Vergi* than the *Roman de la Violette*. The author of the *Chastelaine de Vergi* takes the further step of making the analogy himself, rather than leaving it in the hands of one of his characters.

The *Chastelaine de Vergi* is radical in the extent to which it binds song and narrative together, yet it is not after all very far from *Guillaume de Dole* in the view it presents of the relation between song and narrative. In the *Castelain de Couci*, conversely, the formulae which introduce the songs into the narrative are very like those of *Guillaume de Dole* or the *Roman de la Violette* (especially in the dancing scenes where three *rondeaux* are sung); and yet the overall structure of the work is an entirely new conception in Old French romance. It is in this respect that the *Castelain de Couci* most significantly
anticipates the fourteenth-century *dits amoureux* of Machaut and Froissart.

Jakemés sets the Châtelain de Couci’s *chansons* into a fictional narrative based on the well-known *coeur mangé* legend. In this he follows (at least indirectly) the thirteenth-century biographies of Guilhem de Cabestanh in which this legend is first given a hagiographical twist. It is not entirely clear whether for Jakemés the Châtelain was a fictional or historical character, since (as in the *vidas* and *razos*) his own biographical details about the *trouvère* do not fully correspond with history. A further problem arises in the attribution of the *chansons*, since of the seven included in the *roman*, only four can be authenticated with reasonable certainty (of the other three, one is certainly and another possibly by Gace Brulé, and the third, unique to the *roman*, is probably by Jakemés himself). However, these discrepancies in detail do not alter the impression given by the *roman* that Jakemés wished genuinely to present the works of a single poet by setting them in a narrative plot which had been used previously for a similarly honorific purpose.

The primary structural innovation of the *Castelain de Couci* is thus that Jakemés conflates the role of the romance hero with the author of the *chansons*. He draws attention to the hero’s eminence as a poet straightaway:

```
De Couchi estoit castelains;
Bien sai que Renaus avoit non,
Partout estoit de grant renon.
Partures savoit faire et cans (68-71).
```

Structurally, the narrative resembles Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*. The first part describes the progress of the Châtelain from disconsolate and unrequited love, to blissful union with his lady, the "dame de Fayel". At its mid-point (after several letters and songs), they finally spend their first joyous night together. This prompts the Châtelain next day to compose a *chanson d’amour*. For a while their love affair remains at this pitch of happiness. Thereafter, events turn against them. The jealous "dame de Vermendois" spies on them and inform the lady of Fayel’s husband of their love. He engineers their separation by tricking the Châtelain into going on a Crusade.

Once abroad the Châtelain is wounded by a poisoned arrow. On board a ship home, and on
his death-bed, he arranges for his servant to send his heart to his lady, together with ainal letter. Unfortunately, the husband intercepts the message, and decides to serve up
the heart to his wife for dinner. She comments on the deliciousness of the food, whereupon
he reveals what she has just eaten. In the most brilliant and moving example in Old French
romance of having the last word, she declares that she has never tasted anything so
exquisite and never will again, and then dies. Her husband, fearful of scandal, exiles
himself.

It is not easy to convey in a summary the manner in which the *chansons* and the
narrative are fitted together. Clearly the process can no longer best be described as
interpolation: Jakemés is combining, with various forms of adjustment on either side, two
pre-existent elements, each with its own coherence, the romance plot and the group of
*chansons* by the Châtelain de Couci. The novelty of his attempt lies precisely in his
decision to treat the *œuvre* of a single poet. This choice in itself indicates an unusual
interest in the *trouvère* as a poet. Further indications in the *roman* enable us to take
Jakemés seriously not only as a biographer, but as a critical biographer, as a poet
interested in another poet’s creative circumstances.

Jakemés’ interest in fictionally delineating the circumstances which might have
prompted the composition of the *chansons* is shown by the way that he marries the *chansons*
to stages in the narrative. The *chansons* arise out of important scenes in the progress of
the love affair, both while it is approaching its zenith, and when it comes under attack.
In this sense, they serve as a structuring device, amplifying and giving prominence to
such scenes as the first abandoned tryst, their first night "en paradis", and the
Châtelain’s death-bed. Such a consistent pointing of the narrative is rare in the *romans à
chansons*, where the songs are either too numerous to be used as a structuring device, or
are clustered together in a single section of the plot as in *Cléomades* or *Escanor*. Jakemés’ work thus has an unusual coherence in its overall design, the result once again
of his original ploy in dealing with the work of a single *trouvère*.

His achievement is that both the *chansons* and the narrative gain from the union. The
gains for the narrative are in clarity of outline, and the way in which the songs provide

95
a natural means of emphasis. For the songs, the sharply defined narrative context in which they are each set acts as a form of interpretation. Since they are grounded in specific events, the audience sees them as a direct response to the experience of love. This is emphasised by Jakemés:

Amours de volonté jolie
Li commande a faire cançon (3700-01)

Amours, qui liaida a faire,
L'enseigna, ains qu'a son repaire
Venist, l'ot toute parfumie
Ensï com vous l'avés oyé. (4948-51)\textsuperscript{17}

For Jakemés, "Amours" is the guiding principle of inspiration, both for the creative powers of the Châtelain, and for his own:

Amours, qui est principaument
Voîe de vivre honnestement,
M'a donné voïoir de retraire
Un conte de tres noble affère... (1-4)

From this point of view the \textit{roman} suggests a means of exploring the way in which experience is turned by a poet into poetry. It would be an exaggeration to claim that Jakemés makes anything very much of this idea. In their emphasis on "Amours", and on the Châtelain's composition rather than performance of the songs, his introductions form their own formulae: different formulae from those used by Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, but equally stereotyped. Yet by providing the potential for this kind of exploration as an inherent feature of the structure of his romance, Jakemés releases the idea for subsequent poets.

There are several other features of the \textit{Castelain de Couci}, which anticipate the concerns of fourteenth-century poets - and particularly Machaut. One is its use of letters as well as songs.\textsuperscript{18} This, too, is rare among the thirteenth-century romances.\textsuperscript{19} Letters occur previously only in Jacquemart Gîlée's \textit{Renart le Nouvel}, which in addition to its sixty-five \textit{refrains}, contains three letters from Renart to his paramours. Jakemés borrowed several long passages from Bretel's \textit{Le Tournoi de Chauvency}, and so may have been familiar with other \textit{romans} containing \textit{refrains} from that region which I described in chapter 2; his use of letters may then derive from Jacquemart.\textsuperscript{20} However, the letters in the \textit{Castelain de
Couci differ from those in Renart le Nouvel in being part of a single amorous correspondence, and in this respect they form a unique precedent for Machaut's Voir Dit.21

Although the letters in the Castelain de Couci are in verse, Jakemés usually distinguishes them in function from the chansons. As in Guillaume de Dole, the chansons are sung by the Châtelain in solitary, reflective circumstances - not during an event, but after it. They are never performed in front of his lady, and (with the exception of the first song) do not seem intended for her ears, even indirectly. Direct communication between the lovers, apart from dialogue, takes place only in the form of letters. However, on one occasion chanson and letter are juxtaposed, when the Châtelain is on his death-bed. Here he first sings a song describing his lady ("Sans faindre voel obeir", a virelai probably by Jakemés himself), then composes a letter to be taken to her after his death. Many of the phrases in the virelai and the letter correspond ("Elle est douce em pourtraiture" (7570) and "He ! bielle douce 'creature / Qui passes toute pourtraiture..." (7677-78)), implying a coincidence of function between the two forms which recurs in the Voir Dit.

We have discussed several ways in which the Castelain de Couci stands apart from earlier romans à chansons. In conclusion, it is important to note the extent to which certain features of the love dit are superimposed on the romance. Thus the hero provides his own lyric commentary upon his aventure d'amour, or, to put it another way, a fiction is woven around his chansons in order to demonstrate their relation to the narrated experience of love. One difference between the Castelain de Couci and a dit by Machaut is that the roman is not written in the first person, nor with any but the vaguest allusions to allegory. Yet even so, in his Prologue and Epilogue, Jakemés introduces a personal note:

```
Et pour ytant k'Amours m'a pris
Et en son siervice m'a mis,
En l'onnour d'une dame gente
Ai je mis men coer et m'entente
En rimer ceste histoire chi. (8245-49); (see also 51-54)
```

He reveals that the roman after all is itself part of a larger "histoire" concerning his
relation to his own dame. As in Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, the poet makes the roman subservient to his purportedly autobiographical affairs of love.\(^{22}\)

In all these respects, Jakemès was followed very closely by a poet - Nicole de Margival - who took a similar opportunity to honour a trouvère. His work, the *Dit de la Panthère*, will be discussed in detail in the last part of the chapter. Here it is sufficient to note its pivotal status in the relation between the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century practice of interpolating lyrics. Written probably at the turn of the century, it quotes from nine *chansons* by Adam de la Halle (as well as some by Drouart la Vache and Jean l'Epicier) yet it is not a *roman d'aventure* in the style of the *Castelain de Couci*, but an allegorical love vision after the manner of the *Roman de la Rose*. In this way, Nicole de Margival anticipates Machaut more closely than any other poet we have yet discussed. In particular, the final section of his *dit*, which incorporates seven of his own lyric compositions connected by a brief autobiographical narrative, acts as a specific precedent for Machaut's *Remède de Fortune* since the pieces cover a range of lyric types.

The *Dit de la Panthère* is the first *dit amoureux* to contain songs in the longer lyric forms, and we shall later consider it in these terms. Yet it would be misleading to imply that it was the first allegorical love narrative to contain songs at all.\(^{23}\) In fact there are two examples of allegorical *dits* in the thirteenth century which contain numerous *refrains*: Baudouin de Condé's *Prison d'Amours*, discussed briefly in chapter 2, and Thibaut's *Roman de la Poire* which contains twenty-one *refrains* and also begins with twelve twenty-line songs in alexandrine couplets.\(^{24}\) Alongside these more substantial *dits* survives a group of shorter pieces, usually written in the first person, in which *refrains* are also prominent. These include *La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille*, several *Saluts d'Amours* and *Complaintes d'Amours*, and two *dits entés* by Jehan de Lescurel.\(^{25}\) A further work which belongs somewhat unexpectedly to this group is the anonymous *Traduction de l'Ars amatoria d'Ovide* in which some seventy *refrains* are quoted. All of these works are little known and little considered, with the exception of the pieces by Lescurel, a figure better known as a musician than as a poet. Yet they constitute a second main branch, along with the *romans courtois*, in the tradition of inset lyric forms immediately preceding Guillaume de
Machaut.

II  Refrains in the first-person love dits, saluts and complaintes

The Roman de la Poire, one of the earliest imitations of the Roman de la Rose, was written probably in the mid-thirteenth century, after the poem by Guillaume de Lorris, but before Jean de Meun had finished his continuation.\textsuperscript{26} It is also one of the earliest works to contain isolated refrains in any number, being preceded only by the Roman de la Violette. Taking his cue from the castle of Jalousie in the Roman de la Rose, Thibaut describes himself as besieged in "la tor orgeuilleuse" by Biauté, Cortoisie, Noblece and Franchise. These ladies advance menacingly towards the tower, singing refrains. Amor himself then approaches the castle, accompanied by many musicians and other attendants. The lover vows obedience to him, and gives Amor his heart; Amor proceeds to find him a lady, who is duly favourable. Unfortunately, their love is thwarted by her jealous husband. The poem thus ends with their love firmly pledged but incapable of fruition: the poet cursing li envieux with the poem itself, which, as he boasts, will preserve the memory of their love "toz jors".

Although he refers to a Court of Love (lines 1324ff), Thibaut does not group his refrains into the kind of formal courtly pageant which, as we observed in chapter 2, is a feature of Rehais le Nouvel, Le Tournoi de Chauvency, La Court de Paradis and Le Court d'Amour. The one major festive scene where Amor arrives at the castle with a "grant compaigne chevachant" (1120) is marked by a single refrain sung by all the attendants together:

\begin{verbatim}
En la fin tuit cil qui chantoient,  
Au refret d'Amor s'acordoient  
Et disoient a longue aleine:  
\textit{Einsi nos meine li maus d'amors}  
\textit{Einsi nos meine}.  
\end{verbatim}

(1148-52)\textsuperscript{27}

The other refrains are given to the various personified characters such as Simplece or Leauté to sing at different stages in the allegory.

The most formal grouping of refrains occurs in the scene by the tower with Biauté,
Cortoisie, Noblece, and Franchise. As he does throughout the poem, the lover explains each detail of the event to an anonymous questioner, a "biaus frere" who regularly interrupts the narration to ask what happened next. Each of the first three ladies sings a refrain, and the narration falls into the following pattern: a request from the poet's friend to know what kind of song they sang, the quotation of the refrain, followed by a description of the lady's appearance, and the message they have brought to him from Amor.28

In the remainder of the poem, the refrains themselves often act as a message, the meaning of which is commented upon in the text. In one passage, Leauté and Mesure even begin to argue over the meaning of their respective refrains. Mesure defends her own refrain (A lui m'envois, ne m'en tendroie mie, / Diex, ge l'aim tant) vigorously:

Car bien est mes diz adreciez
Et davant toz le proveré
Par reison qu'i adont teré.
Quar tant de sens en mon chant sone... (2522-25)

Her quasi-scholastic reference to the "sens" of a song is paralleled later by a reference to the "sentence" of another. The lover has been describing a song of his lady's. His friend asks:

«Dites moi del chant la sentence.»

He replies, with the interesting implication that the refrain is indeed the sentence of a song:

«Si vos volez, tresbien le vueill:
Amors ai a ma volonte
Teles con ge veill. (2791-94)

The initial letters of most of the refrains quoted throughout the dit make up the following words: A.A.C. A.N.N.E.S. T.I.B.A.V.T. A.M.O.R.S.29 Thibaut explains this just before quoting Amors ai (2781-90), the initial "A" of which forms the "A" of AMORS. The refrain makes a witty play on its own acrostic function, since not only does it represent Amors, it describes how Amors is subject to the poet. The "sentence" of the song thus seems to have a double allusion: to the song's words about Amors, and also to its acrostic function in spelling out Amors.

It is remarkable to find this kind of verbal play with refrains in a poem which makes
such a point of presenting them as songs, sung by a character within the narrative. In the *Roman de la Violette* or *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, the circumstances of performance constitute a large part of the meaning of the *refrains*. The words of the song gain their importance from the social nuance suggested by who is singing them, and to whom. Thibaut, however, carries the verbal significance of the *refrains* much further. Not only do they play their part in the hidden verbal pattern of the acrostic, they also have a proverbial meaning, by means of which the personified characters epitomise, or if necessary defend, their point of view. Yet none of this appears to affect the musical performance of the *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire*. This is suggested both by the way in which they take up narrative time, and more significantly, by the fact that all three surviving manuscripts contain either music itself, or indications that it was intended.\(^{30}\) Moreover the third lady in the tower scene, Noblece, is depicted as dancing to the accompaniment of her *refrain*:

\[
\text{Et por ce qu'il venoit balant, } \\
\text{Pas por pas et soi remirant } \\
\text{Et chantoit, quant fesoit ses tors: } \\
\text{Nus n'a toché a moi, s'il n'aime par Amors. (946-49)}\]

Baudouin de Condé takes an even greater verbal interest in *refrains* than Thibaut. His *Prison d'Amours* was written at some time between 1240 and 1280.\(^{32}\) In James Wimsatt's terms, it is a psychological allegory rather than an episodic *dit* like the *Poire*, and thus resembles works such as Philippe de Remi's *Salut à refrains* and Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *La Prise Amoureuse*.\(^{33}\) Baudouin's own description of the poem is as a *traitié*, and the scholastic implication of this term is borne out by the rigorous method by which he applies each stage of the allegory to his 'own' experiences of love. The *matere* of the work is entirely built around its central metaphor of the Prison of Love; its argumentative structure, especially in the earlier part, is built around the forty-nine *refrains*.

In contrast to the *Roman de la Poire*, the *refrains* are rarely framed with the introductory formula "En chantant" and the closing "Quant ot chanté". Instead they are often slipped almost imperceptibly into the narrative, unobtrusively contained within the
syntax.\textsuperscript{34}

Et tous les haus solas del monde
Covient d'amors naistre et movoir.
Qui dire vous en veut le voir,
Cuers qui par amours n'aime
Ne doit mie grant joie avoir. (580-84)

The connection between text and \textit{refrain} is so smooth in this example that Boogaard and Scheler disagree as to whether the line "Qui dire vous en veut le voir" should be regarded as part of the \textit{refrain}.\textsuperscript{35}

In such cases the \textit{refrains} continue the thought of the poem, but Baudouin also refers back to them:

Tant par est biele, ce m'est vie,
Ke de penser à son cler vis
Ne querroie avoir jà sejour:
\textit{Amour m'est el cuer entrée,}
\textit{Jà n'en partirai nul jour.}
Nul jour certes n'en partirai... (62-67)

Here the \textit{refrain} prompts a response from Baudouin: he affirms its phrasing by repeating it, and applying it firmly to his own situation. The \textit{refrain} does not only help to further the narrative, it (momentarily at least) turns the narrative into a commentary upon it.

Baudouin achieves this elsewhere in another way by allowing the text to anticipate a \textit{refrain}:

Et as malvais qui s'en retraient
Onques acorder ne m'i peuc,
Ne voloir departir n'en veuc,
Nès le sambant onques n'en fis.
\textit{Jamais amors n'oblérai, n'onques ne fis}. (1897-1901)

This passage has the effect of glossing the \textit{refrain} in advance; the emphatic "onques n'en fis" doubly reinforced by the \textit{refrain} in "Jamais...n'oblérai", "n'onques ne fis". Thus by a variety of methods, Baudouin creates a sophisticated interplay between narrative and \textit{refrain}. Sometimes the impending quotation of a \textit{refrain} is suggested in advance, at others the timing of a \textit{refrain} enables a point to be made more forcefully, to be summarised, or capped with an epithet.\textsuperscript{36} It may enhance an argument stylistically, text and \textit{refrain} combining to form a pattern of assonance:

Chi endroit entrelairai m'œuvre
Et fnerai et tenrai coi,
Mais ne m'i renvoiserai, si sarai por coi. (2076-78)

Or the refrain may provide a heightened form of address from Baudouin to his lady:

Helas ! et jou qui rien n'en sai,
Porai le jà rien aprochier,
Que mon voel la puisse atoucier ?
Trop m'en gaiment et m'en estroi.
Ma douce dame
Aures vos jà
Merci de moi ? (2443-49)

From being messages containing significant meanings in the Roman de la Poire, the refrains in the Prison d'Amours have become an integral part of the work's argumentative structure. Not only do they provide a gloss upon the narrative, they also provide matere for it; subjects and points of view which in turn require commentary and interpretation. Considering the increased concentration on the words of the refrains, it is worthy of note that there is no corresponding decrease in their musical function. Musical evidence is scarce in this case; nevertheless, two refrains out of forty-nine have been notated in the Vienna MS 2621, and a further one ("Jamais amours n'oublierai, / n'onques ne fis"; Boogaard, refr.991) appears with notation in Renart le Nouvel, line 1746. These indications of music, together with the sharp visual distinction between narrative and refrain created in the manuscript by the blank staves drawn in over each refrain, show us that no easy assumptions can be made about the relative unimportance of music to the refrain in this context. Clearly, in this manuscript the refrains were intended to be accompanied by music, even though the refrains are rarely described or presented as songs.

These differences between the Roman de la Poire and the Prison d'Amours are also evident in the thirteenth-century Saluts d'Amour, some of which resemble the Poire (by introducing the refrains as songs) and some the Prison (by apparently emphasising their verbal function). First of all, though, it is necessary to describe the Saluts as a group. In his still standard discussion of the genre, Paul Meyer identifies twelve works. Several more pieces may be added to this list, including some found only as narrative interpolations. Many of these works are preserved in a single manuscript, the famous fabliau collection BN f.fr.837 (which contains altogether no fewer than fourteen pièces à
chansons, including the *Lai d’Aristote, La Court de Paradis* and *La Chastelaine de Vergi*). In addition, the majority contain interpolated refrains or lyric strophes (for the latter, see *La Complaiante Douteuse*, ed. Jubinal, p.243, and Meyer, No.3, p.147).

With such a large manuscript collection of pieces containing songs, it is unfortunate that there is practically no indication of musical notation in the manuscript, not even blank staves or spaces for staves, although the refrains are always visually marked out with a paragraph sign in the margin. However, there is good reason to think that this should be taken as manuscript practice rather than evidence that the refrains were not intended to be sung, since other manuscripts of the *Lai d’Aristote* and *La Court de Paradis* do contain notation or spaces for staves.

In the case of the *Saluts*, we are altogether deprived of evidence about their musical character. At least some idea of the musical effect of these pieces can be obtained, however, by comparing them briefly with a related lyric genre, the chanson-avec-des-refrains. This curious, and in many respects puzzling song form has a different refrain for each strophe, which (when music survives) may have a tune different from both the strophe and from the other refrains. In most the metre of the refrains does not match the metre of the strophic lines, although refrain and strophe do tend to rhyme.

The *Saluts* in strophic forms (Nos. I, II, III, and *Li Confrere*) closely resemble this structure, albeit in an extended version. Thus *Salut* III is composed of forty strophes (the first five are seven-line, the rest five-line), with refrains added after each, varying in length from two to three and four lines. *Salut* II is constructed on a similar principle, this time with twenty-nine strophes in alexandrines each followed by one-or two-line refrains; *Salut* I, with fourteen eleven-line strophes in octosyllabic rimes plates, has interpolated rondeaux as well as separate refrains. On the analogy of the chansons-avec-des-refrains, then, these works were performed with a separate melody for each of the refrains; but we have no way of telling whether the strophes were sung as well.

While half the *Saluts à refrains* are strophic, the other half are written in "narrative" octosyllabic rimes plates (*Salut* Ia, *Complaiante* I, Meyer No.3, *D’Amour et de
Jalousie). Complainte I, however, also recalls a lyric genre, since, like the motet enté, it is framed by a refrain at the start and at the end. 47

According to Meyer, the distinguishing characteristic of Saluts d'Amour is "la formule de salutation" with which they begin (for example, "Salus vous manc, amie chiere" (Meyer No.1, line 9)). It may thus be described as an epistolary genre, and in fact the term "lettre" is often used along with salut or complainte (see for example No.1, line 120; No.8, line 3). 48 Several fall into two halves, the formal address by the lover paired with a reply from the lady (for example Meyer No.3, Salut III, D'Amour et de Jalousie) creating a dialogue structure. Dialogue is set up in two ways: by the relation of the lover to his lady, and by the relation of the strophic or narrative lines to the inset refrains. 49

Dialogue, as we have seen, is integral to the structure of the Roman de la Poire, and in the Prison d'Amours Baudouin often engages conversationally in his narrative with his chosen refrains. The Salut poets cast this feature into a more rigorously formal framework, so that the fluid, prospective and retrospective technique of commentary in the Prison d'Amours becomes in the strophic Saluts a tight, rhetorical patterning of concatenation:

\[ J'ai, j'ai amoretes au cuer \\
  qui me tienent gay. \]

Gay me tient amors et joli \\
et tout mon cuer a si saisi...

(Sal.III, 8-11)

This Salut contains several exchanges between the lover and the dame: in the second part, under the rubric "Ci respont la damoisele", the lover's voice returns to reply in the second strophe (lines 8-14). She resumes for the next ten strophes, but he has the final word in the form of the last refrain:

«Douce dame, granz merciz ! \\
et je plus ne demant.» (91-92)

This pattern of response and counter-response is matched by the relation between the strophes and their answering refrains. The concatenation implicitly demonstrates the dominance of the refrains within this structure (a characteristic of the strophic Saluts), since it suggests that the function of the strophes is simply to echo the refrains. The
refrains are thus the central skeleton of the poem. They represent the most succinct and condensed version of what each character is trying to express; the strophes have the complementary role of providing the forward momentum of the argument.

Strophe and refrain in the Saluts d'Amour are in general closely interconnected, with the strophes in the pivotal position of both commenting on the refrain of the previous strophe, and being summarised in turn by a new refrain. At the same time, the relationship clearly depends on there being a distinction between the two: however close they are in thought or even in phrasing, the strophe is always implicitly deferring to the superior authority of the refrain. These works retain, in other words, the sense of one genre encountering another.

So far, I have drawn examples from Saluts which resemble the Prison d'Amours more than the Roman de la Poire in their treatment of refrains. In those which particularly emphasise the refrains as songs (such as Sal.1 and Sal.11), this sense of a refrain as a distinct genre is even more sharp. In Sal.11, for example, the refrains are even described under a wide array of generic terms: refrait, pastorele, motet, chançon and mot. But there is no question of either the refrain or the rest of the poem having the same kind of independent role which they possess in a roman à refrains. Even in the Prison d'Amours, the central allegory has its own autonomy to which the refrains are seen to be contributing. The Saluts, by contrast, (with the possible exception of D'Amour et de Jalouse) present us with a juxtaposition not so much between narrative and lyric as between two kinds of lyric genre.

In this way, the Saluts à refrains are works which occupy a space between 'narrative' and 'lyric'. The influence of refrains has created in them a method of composition which runs counter to other trends in medieval poetry. By encouraging an attention to their autonomy, refrains resist the common medieval practice of creative plagiarism. Rather than being simply absorbed into the larger structure of the Saluts the verbal, formal and musical integrity of the refrains is respected. The kind of authority which the refrains represent, in other words, is not the kind of "old matere" which is learnt and then

106
reproduced in new phrasing, and with a new context. It is a kind of authority which is inseparable from the condensed, gnomic form in which it is expressed. And yet many of the refrains are quite ordinary snippets of conversation and exclamations:

\[
\text{Dame, ert il toz jors issi} \\
\text{Que j'amerai sans guerredon? (Sal.I: X, 13-14, 19-20)}
\]

\[
\text{Bele, de fin cuer année, merci. (Sal.II: I, 5)}
\]

What we have here is the interesting phenomenon of a distinct language of love, full of current phrases and allusions to stock situations, which has become codified into a set of independent tags. It is as if the language of love has shattered into a myriad conventional fragments, each retaining its separate identity, and all re-informing and re-entering the same stock of love situations. In the poetic context of a dit or "saying" about love, the refrain gains currency as an authoritative saying on love, or as one Salut poet puts it, a "remembrance d'amor".

We noticed this in one of the very earliest examples of a love dit with refrains, the Roman de la Poire, where the refrains are imbued with a special sort of significance. But in the Prison d'Amours, Baudouin uses the word authority quite explicitly:

\[
\text{Ains lor de fine verité,} \\
\text{Si le proeve d'auctorité} \\
\text{D'un rondet dont c'est ci li dis:}
\]

\[
\text{Sa biele boucete, par un très douc ris} \\
\text{A mon cuer en sa prizon mis. (123-37)}
\]

As we discussed in chapter 1, it is possible that Baudouin is creating an elaborate joke by creating his own variations on a single refrain, and yet claiming that they all represent independent attestations of his point of view. Our interest then was in the way Baudouin seemed to be making the often very slight differences between refrains work to his own advantage. But it could also be that he is poking fun at the very idea of auctoritas in such a context. The refrains supposedly verify the truth of his dit: yet if he has invented (or re-formulated) them himself, what is the value of their authority? The love discourse in his dit defines itself in relation to itself; the refrains act as individual representatives of this discourse, brought in (supposedly from 'outside') to verify or guarantee it.
Two further works, probably close in date to the *Saluts d'Amours* take up, in markedly divergent ways, each of these elements explored in the *Saluts*: the use of dialogue and patterned exchange between strophe and refrain, and the issue of authority. One of these, *La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille*, is a dramatic version of a *Salut*; the other belongs at first sight to a quite distinct literary category, as it is a vernacular prose translation with commentary of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*. The latter is not only the first complete French translation of the *Ars amatoria*, it is also probably the most bizarre. The translation alternates with passages of gloss, each clearly marked as such in the manuscript. The "glose" in turn is augmented with a range of citations and allusions, including French and Latin proverbs, references to French poetry and romance, one pastourelle, two rondeaux, five separate strophes from five different songs, and nearly seventy refrains.

In these glosses the translator wanders far from Ovid. They represent not so much a commentary on the Latin text as an excuse to discuss current practices of the "Art of Love". The glosses are thus a strange mixture of personal comment, social description and literary allusion:

> C'est chose prouvee et congueiie que les dames vont volentiers aus karoles et aus dances, et que ceste maniere de deduit ne fust trouvee pour autre raison fors pour monstrer leurs jolivetés et envoiseüres des cuers. Et illuec sont faiz les bons commencemens d'amours par les merveilleuses contenances et par les beaux dis que on y dist, si comme nous avons dit et dirons. Et quant elles en sont plus blasmees, et plus volentiers y vont, et chantent en despit de ceulx qui les en blasment, et dient:
> «Vous le lairés, le baler, le jouer,
> Mais nous ne le lairons mie.» (I, 512-21)

The structure of this gloss has a remarkable resemblance to the structure of the *Saluts* or of the *Prison d'Amours*. A refrain nearly always ends a paragraph of gloss (which may in fact contain two or three refrains): the whole paragraph acts to introduce the refrain and to give it an amorous and social context.

Sometimes even the words of a refrain are anticipated:

> Ou pour ce que les damoiselles ne te tiennent a couart ou a mauvais, car elles s'en prennent mout bien garde, ja soit ce qu'elles n'en facent gaires de semblant. Et pour ce dient elles es karoles en leurs chansons:
> «Ja couart n'ara belle amie,
> Mais li preux les amaine deux et deux.» (I, 334-39)
In this way, as in a strophic Salut, the refrains appear to crown each paragraph. Seen in the light of such a commentary, the translation of Ovid undergoes a change in function and perspective. Overtly it may begin as a translation, but the final impression is more of a love dit à refrains. The process of interpolation appears in this work to have a momentum of its own in which the original Ovid is left to recede into the distance.

We may also note the way in which refrains in this translation are directly involved in the process of commentary and gloss. Although the "glose" is ostensibly commenting on Ovid, it would be more accurate to describe it as a commentary on the refrains. The translator finds himself providing analogies to an Ovidian remark which gradually metamorphose into an explanation of why and in what circumstances ladies decide to sing such and such a refrain. The fact that Ovid is the spur to this kind of discussion is of particular interest: it shows how closely refrains were associated with the "Art of Love" in all its literary as well as social circumstances. For this translator, at least, the refrain, and also more generally the carole, is the supreme modern illustration of the Ars amatoria. He has, in short, translated the old auctoritas of love into its modern counterpart.

The Traduction d'Ovide remains a clerkly translator's view of love's "olde daunce". There are no indications of music in the manuscript and it would be to misunderstand the work to see the refrains as anything other than verbal citations. La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille, by contrast, is an eminently performable work. Although its structure closely resembles a strophic Salut, composed as it is of thirty-five seven-line strophes each followed by a different refrain, it is unique in using this strophic pattern to present a narrative. The plot is simple, and based on one of the stock character groupings of the fabliaux - father, unmarried daughter, lover and vilains. The girl's father, the Châtelain of Saint-Gille, wishes to marry her to "un vilain qui mout riche ere" (5). She immediately replies:

    otez le moi, cel vilain la !
    se plus l'i voi, je morrai ja ! (8-9)

Despite such protests, the vilains takes her triumphantly to a priest to be married, but
just in time her lover arrives and carries her away.

Each refrain is chosen for its dramatic appropriateness; it is not a comment upon the story but part of its dialogue. Thus when the girl's ami arrives, she taunts the vilains:

\[
\text{Vostre jalousie}
\]
\[
est plus enragé
\]
\[
que li maus des denz. \] \(224-26\)

The preponderance of dialogue, the pace of the action, and the use of four characters all suggest that this piece was intended to be acted out. A further clue to the style of performance is given in the twenty-sixth strophe, where the ami invites his lady to dance:

\[
\text{Bele, quar balez, et je vous en pri,}
\]
\[
et je vous ferai le virenli. \] \(234-35\)

She replies:

\[
\text{«Le virenli vous covient fere.»}
\]
\[
Et li vilains comence a brere,
\]
\[
quant la parole a entendue;
\]
\[
mes rïens ne vaut, il l'a perdue.
\]
\[
Cil est entrez dedenz sa terre;
\]
\[
si ami le venoient querre,
\]
\[
qui tuit chantoiennent liement:
\]
\[
«Espringuiez et balez cointement,
\]
\[
vous qui par amors amez lëaument.» \(236-44\)

This scene is very reminiscent of the song "Li jalous sont partout fustat" mentioned in chapter 1, in which, according to the queen of the dance, Li jaloux are to be kicked out of the dance and those in love are to dance forward. Here, similarly, the vilains has been ousted, and "vous qui par amors amez lëaument" are being invited to dance. For Bédier, "Li jalous sont partout fustat" is the kind of song which is at the root of a balerie. La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille appears to give precisely the kind of dramatic context for these actions which Bédier envisaged for a balerie: perhaps then it is not far wrong to see La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille as an extended, dramatised form of dance-song.\(^56\)

As in the Saluts, the last line of each refrain in La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille is linked to the first of the next strophe, yet the effect in this piece is much more smooth and flowing than in the argued, abstract lovers' pleas. There is an equally fluid relation between strophe and refrain in two early fourteenth-century pieces by Jehan de Lescurel, "Gracieuse, faitisse et sage", and "Gracieus temps est, quant rosier".\(^57\) Lescurel, a
musician as well as a poet, was a student cleric at Notre-Dame in Paris. We know little of him apart from his collection of some thirty songs, beautifully copied into the celebrated Roman de Fauvel manuscript (BN f.fr.146), and, somewhat incongruously, that he was hanged for rape and murder in 1304. Amongst these songs are two longer pieces, given the unusual but apt title in the manuscript of *dits entés*, the structure of which once again resembles the strophic *Saluts*. All the *refrains* in both pieces are copied with music: these pieces are thus the only examples among the *Salut*-type which have come down to us with their musical character intact.

Since the strophes are not set to music, we have to assume that they were spoken or recited. Unlike the *Poire*, however, Lescurel gives very little introduction to the *refrains*, which, in general, simply complete a sentence begun in the strophe. Thus, as in the *Prison*, while little verbal distinction is made between strophe and *refrain*, this belies the fact that in performance there would always be a marked shift in register between the spoken and the sung. Two *refrains* in the first piece, and one in the second, are taken from songs earlier in the collection; in addition, one *refrain*, *Je l'amerai mon vivant*, appears in both *dits entés*. Given the presence of music in all these cases, we have the rare opportunity to see whether the melody of each duplicated *refrain* remains the same, or whether Lescurel varies them in any way. In fact the melodies are all duplicated, although in each case they are transposed. In the first *refrain* in "Gracieus temps est", the style of melody is perhaps suggested in the strophe. Lescurel writes:

> En chantant .i. nouviau hoquet,  
> M'alai jouer... (i, 5-6; Wilkins, p.28)

The *refrain* melody, to the words "*Un petitet m'endormi*...", is indeed "nouviau", since unlike the other *refrain* melodies in these two pieces, it is melismatic rather than syllabic (Wilkins, p.28):
This small example of coordination between the words and the music, to be expected of a poet-composer, is the first of its kind in this discussion of Machaut's antecedents. Yet there are other ways, as I have tried to suggest, in which this group of short thirteenth-century pieces offers a foretaste of fourteenth-century concerns. We have seen the citation of refrains develop into a quasi-scholastic activity in which they are credited with textual authority. In the strophic Saluts d'Amour, the process of interpolation is articulate in both senses of the word: it provides a form of internal commentary, and creates regular structural division. We have also seen, in the Traduction d'Ovide, a close connection made between the textual and social authority of song and the "Art of Love". Finally, the Saluts provide an intriguing precedent for Machaut's Voir Dit in their combination of lyric interpolation with the epistola _ry form: a precedent different from, yet equally important for an understanding of Machaut as that of the Roman du Castelain de Couci.
III The *dit amoureux*: Nicole de Margival to Guillaume de Machaut

In the *romans courtois* and the *Saluts à refrains*, we have encountered two quite different ways of combining lyric and narrative. Especially in the earlier *romans*, narrative and song are distinct both in genre and function. Interest in combining the two forms derives from the pleasure of finding a happy relation between two pre-existent elements, each with its own autonomy. However hard Jean Renart tries to blur the distinction in authorship between song and narrative in the Prologue to *Guillaume de Dole* ("toz les moz des chans, / si afierent a ceuls del conte" (28-29)), the distinction remains important throughout the thirteenth century. The *Castelain de Couci*, written at the turn of the century, is the first work to presage a real change in direction.

In the *dits à refrains* and the *Saluts d'Amour*, song and narrative are more interdependent than in the *romans*. Neither makes sense without the other, since both are contributory elements in a larger debate about love. Yet, as we discovered, the distinction between the two genres is not lost. Instead it is used to foster the sense of argument, to heighten contrast and disagreement in order to further the momentum of discussion.

In turning to the first *dits amoureux* to contain lyrics, we find further adjustments in the balance between lyric and narrative. One of the most significant is that the poet of the *dit* is also the author of the enclosed songs: he no longer plays the compiler of material from several different sources, but creates a unified composition out of the variety of forms and modes of expression amongst his own work. Alongside this change we see the development in the fourteenth century of the lyric forms themselves. This development has been discussed in depth by Poirion; but it is worth remarking here that examples of these new *formes fixes*, which Jehan de Lescurel was among the first to compose, were also set into narrative by his close contemporary Nicole de Margival. The *dit amoureux*, in other words, immediately reflected changes in lyric taste.

These changes in the treatment of lyric in the *dits* therefore result from two kinds of antecedent. In their renewed emphasis on 'realism' (as compared to allegory), and in the
length of their inset lyric forms, Machaut’s dits owe much to the love romances, and to the part the performance of songs plays in their mirroring of courtly life. In addition, however, we find a new attention to dialectic, applied not so much to allegory as to the art of love poetry itself, as it is represented in the inset lyrics. In these other respects, the love dits à refrains form the closest parallel.

Of course, to concentrate solely on narrative poetry into which lyrics are set, is to gain in some ways a narrow, and even distorted view of literary developments in love narrative in general. It requires us, most perversely of all, almost entirely to ignore the Roman de la Rose, the primary source and inspiration for nearly all French love poetry well into the fifteenth century. In addition, we are led to take little account of scholastic and classical influences upon the treatment of love. Yet perhaps some gains from this selective approach may also be claimed. Firstly, while the importance of the Roman de la Rose to fourteenth-century love poets has long been recognised, and recently described at length by Badel, it has not been widely noticed that the practice of combining lyric and narrative in the dits forms a coherent pressure of influence in its own right. Putting temporarily to one side the Roman de la Rose, the rise of the formes fixes, and the influence of Ovid and Andreas Capellanus, enables other, unjustly neglected aspects of the dits to be revealed: such as the dual role in Machaut of inset music as well as inset lyric poetry, and the interest shown by all the authors of the dits in juxtaposing different modes of presentation of the experience of love.

Written about 1300, at the same time as the Roman du Castelain de Couci, the poems and dits entés of Lescurel and probably also Le Court d’Amours, Nicole de Margival’s Dit de la Panthère d’Amours could almost be described as the sum of all their separate characteristics. Like Jakemés, Nicole looks back to a celebrated poet from a previous generation, in his case Adam de la Halle; yet he places Adam’s chansons not in a romance plot, but in his own first-person narrated dream. They are quoted, not by a romance hero, but by a personified character, Venus, in a setting which consists not in the active pursuit of love, but in a debate discussing this pursuit at one remove. The dream itself is framed with an address to his lady which borrows all the opening formulae of the
Nicole, however, turns the formulae round: wanting to address his lady, but not daring not do it directly, he offers a *dit* instead of a *Salut* (line 6), together with his heart and all his thoughts.

For the first time in a *dit amoureux*, Nicole, alongside the *chansons* by Adam de la Halle, encloses songs of his own. The dream proper contains three "dits", as they are termed in the narrative - one in decasyllabic couplets, one in heptasyllabic couplets, and the other in five twelve-line stanzas. The poem is concluded by an epilogue, in which Nicole arranges a series of songs connected by narrative links which explain the origin of each song in successive events in their love affair. This epilogue is in some ways the most interesting part of the poem. Neither *dit* exactly, nor dream, it functions as a gloss upon the art of writing lyric poetry. In a way which resembles Dante’s *Vita Nuova*, the origin of the composition of each song is described and explained as if for its own sake. In marked contrast to Dante, however, this section has an almost apologetic air, as if Nicole felt in need of an excuse for collecting together this group of his own lyrics.

The way in which the *Dit de la Panthère* falls between the *Castelain de Couci* and the *Saluts d’Amours* is evident when we examine Nicole’s manner of quotation from Adam de la Halle in detail. I discussed earlier how Jakemés’ decision to quote exclusively from the Châtelain de Couci’s lyric output implies both respect for the trouvère’s reputation, and an intention to honour him further. The romance setting lends an ideal context to the songs, and the two combine to produce an ideal representation of love. Taking the poetic authority of the *chansons* for granted, Jakemés’ contribution is to give them experiential validity in the action of romance.

Nicole attributes poetic authority to Adam in more explicit terms. Adam’s verse is
adduced by Venus when she is trying to find ways of reasoning the cowardly first-person narrator into a bolder attitude towards love:

«Car s'Amors te veult essaier,  
Tu ne t'en dois pas esmoier.  
Entent qu’Adam au cuer loial  
En dit en .i. sien chant royal»:69

Qui a droit veut Amors servir... (1539-43)

Adam’s lyric verse is quoted by Venus in tones of ringing authority to fortify and at the same time rebuke the would-be lover.

As in D’Amour et de Jalousie, Nicole casts this whole sequence of quotation from Adam into a debate structure. Venus, by quoting a further stanza (from Chanson No.20 in J.H. Marshall’s edition)70 is responding to an earlier argument proposed by the narrator in defence of his timidity in which he quotes stanzas from three separate songs by Adam (1067-1107). He, in turn, makes a further reply to Venus with all five stanzas of Chanson No.25, ‘Grant deduit a et savoureuse vie’.

In this way, Nicole changes Jakemés’ emphasis. His concern is not to give the chansons experiential validity, but conversely to claim validity from them for his narrator’s experience. A consequence of this is that Adam’s chansons, unlike the Châtelain’s, are held up not so much as exempla of sentiment, as of the expression of sentiment in poetry.

The difference in Nicole’s approach may be grasped in another way by considering his remarks about the Roman de la Rose:

«Qui veult d’amors a chief venir,  
Dedens le rommant de la Rose  
Trouveras la science enclose,  
La porras, se tu veus, apprendre  
Comment vrais amans doit entendre  
A servir Amors...  
(1032-37)

For Nicole, the Roman de la Rose is the chief text-book on the "science" of love, and the primary source of reference for those who wish to learn how best to serve love. For the experience of love, then, he turns to the Rose; but it is to a lyric poet that he turns for a tutor in love’s language.

One of the curiously hybrid characteristics of the Dit de la Panthère is that Nicole
uses *chansons* to conduct a love debate after the style of a *dit à refrains*. Like Thibaut in the *Roman de la Poire*, Nicole refers to the *sentence* of the songs:

«Encor dist il allors, sans doute,
«I. ver dont maint amant se doute,
«Quant li souvient de la sentence
«Du ver, liquelz ainsi commence»:

Folz est qui trop en son cuidier se fie... (1096-1100)

We also find the technique employed by Baudouin de Conde of glossing a song in advance. Venus describes Adam’s point of view in the following manner before quoting the song itself:

«Adam en l’autre ver raconte,
«Dont Amor vient et comment monte
«Sa puissance...
«...ce dit en ceste guise
«Li vers que cy après dita
«Adam d’Arras; maint bon dit a.»

Par rire et par biaus dis ojir... (1561-63, 1568-71)

Venus has already given us what she considers to be the "matere" of the *chanson*, and the *chanson* now puts it "en ceste guise". The inserted *chansons* thus draw attention to their own difference in form and metre from the narrative octosyllabic couplets of the *dit*. The implication is that song-form itself constitutes grounds for the songs’ authority, and that Venus’ comments gain new force once they are repeated in a lyric stanza.

Nicole also adopts Baudouin de Conde’s related ploy of anticipating the exact words of a *refrain*, so that when the *refrain* finally appears, we meet it with a sense of recognition. An example occurs near the start of the epilogue. The poet has just woken from his dream and is thinking over all it contained. His thoughts turn immediately to his *dame*, to whom he reaffirms his present loyalty despite the suffering it may entail:

Et si n’en puis ne veilt retraire
Mon cuer por mal ne por contraire
Qu’aye souffert dusques a ore,
Ne que j’aie a soffrir encore; (2210-13)

In this state of mind he composes a *rondeau*, with rhyme words borrowed from the narrative:

*Pour ennuv ne por contraire*
*Ne pour mal souffrir*
*Ne me puis d’amér tenir.*
*Mes cuers ne m’en lait retraire,*

117
Por ennui ne por contraire... (2226-30)

Here we see the same prominence given to the refrain as in the Prison d'Amours, even though the refrain has been expanded into a rondeau.

The Dit de la Panthère falls so naturally into a transitional category between the Castelain de Couci and the Roman de la Poire, that it suffers from some uncertainty of conception. Jehan Acart de Hesdin's La Prise Amoureuse, however, written in 1332 at a date approximately midway between the Dit de la Panthère and Machaut's mature dits, shows a high degree of organisation in which lyric and narrative are confidently set into a sophisticated pattern of relation. The dit proper is a hunting allegory in which the lover is cast not as the hunter (as he is in the thirteenth-century Dis dou Cerf Amoureus, and Chaucer's Book of the Duchess) but as the prey. Jehan works out the allegory with a precision unusually close to the method of Guillaume de Lorris in his part of the Roman de la Rose (other dits have in general only a loose allegiance to allegory). He was singled out for his subtlety by the commentator in Les Echecs Amoureux, who, discussing the art of speaking "plus subtilment, plus plaisamment et plus delectablement", mentions La Prise Amoureuse as an example:

> sy comme on fait en la Prise amoureuse et en plusieurs autres traictés d'amours pour la fainte maniere de parler soubtille et raisonnable soubz laquelle est enclose une sentence plaisant et delitable et moult souvent une moralité qui est de grant profit.72

In brief terms, the poet casts Amours as the hunter, his lady’s virtues and qualities as the hunting dogs, and his own senses as the prey. While in the wood of Jonece he is first attacked by Biauté. Subsequently, by describing his lady’s appearance, Penser and Souvenir manage to lure him away from his hiding place behind the bush of Enfance. This leaves him vulnerable to attack: Amours blows his horn and all the hounds leap up after him. He staggers as if all is lost, for he has indeed lost all his senses. Veering between anguish and joy, he tries to escape from the dogs, but runs into the net of Desir where he flounders, helpless as they tear him completely apart. Pursuing the logic of the allegory to the very end, with an abrupt physicality reminiscent of the coeur mangé story, Jehan causes Amours to divide up the poet’s remains: the body he keeps, the blood and the
entrails are thrown to the dogs, but the heart is given to the lady.

This in itself makes an intriguing and witty narrative, marked by rhythmic and syntactic variety in the ordinary verse couplets at appropriate moments in the drama. But Jehan adds a further layer of complexity to the composition by inserting nine ballades and nine rondeaux in an alternating sequence throughout the piece, beginning and ending with a ballade. He uses this lyric sequence to imply a secondary narrative running parallel with the allegory. The lyrics consist mainly of forms of direct address to his lady, in which Jehan switches out of the allegory and into a literal discussion of his own feelings towards her. The cleverness of this method lies in the timing of the lyrics in relation to the allegorical adventure: they act as sudden moments of translation.

We may take as an example the setting of the sixth ballade. The poet, trying to hide behind his bush, has just heard an enticing description of his lady's beauty. In emotional turmoil he complains in song:

Bele et boinne entierement,  
Tresors de joie et d'amour,  
Or ne puis je longuement  
Fuir contre vostre amour...  
Si me renç pris et vaincus  
En vo dous commandement...  
Vostre grant biautés m'esprent... (1098-1103, 1106)

Here the terms of the allegory - Biauté, Pens, his situation as a trapped animal - are all turned back into their lyric metaphor equivalents: he tells her that he does not know whether he can flee her love since she has captured him through her "grant Biautés". By giving such verve to the allegorical plot Jehan manages to endow it with its own sense of reality or "literal level", especially at the moments of crisis, at which the tension in the chase becomes acute. The conventional appeals in the lyrics for his lady's mercy thus gain dramatic emphasis by being placed in the midst of what is effectively a re-writing of the same situation. Jehan, in other words, is using the contrasts in genre to re-double the intensity of the lover's cry for mercy.

The structural sophistication of this poetic technique surpasses that of the dits à refrain. Lyric and narrative in La Prise Amoureuse are not merely interdependent, nor is it sufficient to say that they mutually provide substance for each other. The songs echo
the allegorical narrative, but in addition they turn it outwards and expose its true meaning. Jehan achieves this by regularly alternating metaphor and allegory, the allegory acting as a means of giving life to the dead metaphors of lyric. This process is similar to that of the Castelain de Couci, where the romance plot breathes narrative life into the trouvère's chanson. The narrative action in La Prise Amoureuse, however, is all inner action. The songs do not so much comment on the plot as represent it in another form.

While La Prise Amoureuse is the first French narrative into which an author sets exclusively his own songs, it is not a straightforward precedent for Machaut's dits. The differences between the Prise Amoureuse and the Remède de Fortune are analogous to some of the ways in which dit is different from romance. Douglas Kelly expresses this difference succinctly:

the romance grows from a matière onto which a surplus de sens is grafted, as Marie de France pointed out, while in the dit matière is the surplus worked into a given sens discursively set forth.75

In the case of romances and dits containing songs, this distinction has a further application. One feature which makes the Castelain de Couci uniquely interesting to the study of fourteenth-century dits is that the matière of the work is constituted by the Châtelain's chansons as much as by the legend of the coeur mangé. Thus although the Castelain de Couci has, in many senses, an ordinary romance plot, the plot's function is not so much to provide matière for interpretation as to interpret, to act as the surplus de sens for the chansons.

It is this suggestion that Machaut follows, rather than that offered by Jehan Acart. In the Prise Amoureuse, song and narrative are both subject to sens rather than to matière in characteristic dit fashion. They are both facets of the same idea, and are thus both responsible for fleshing out that idea in two distinct discursive styles. The function of the allegory - as of the rondeaux and ballades - is to appeal to the lady. In Machaut, however, the relation between song and narrative directly parallels Kelly's view of the new relation between matière and sens in the dit. In other words, the narrative in Machaut is more firmly subservient to song: it takes on the role of an explanation or
interpretation of song more thoroughly and unequivocally than in Jehan Acart or Nicole de Margival. In the *Remède de Fortune*, in particular, lyric itself becomes the subject, in the fullest sense, of the dit.76

Machaut leads us to think this, in the first place, by enclosing an example of every one of the current *formes fixes*. It has become commonplace to remark that he intends by this means to demonstrate the art of lyric poetry in all its manifestations.77 His work is like a *summa* of the love lyric: a textbook for the lyric poet on the *art* of love. These aspects of his work, it should be clear from the previous discussion, did not arise from nowhere. Jakemés' *Roman du Castelain de Couci* initiated an exploration of the way in which experience is turned by the poet into poetry, by using the *roman* plot to explain the circumstances under which each of the Châtelain's songs was composed. The *Saluts d'Amour* and the two *dits* by Baudouin de Condé and Thibaut, by treating refrains in a didactic framework, implied that an authority concerning the matters of love was invested in lyric verse forms themselves. Throughout we have also noticed a tendency to treat interpolated lyrics as subjects of gloss or commentary. Nicole de Margival, in the epilogue to the *Dit de la Panthère*, is the first to apply a narrative commentary to his own lyric compositions. In this he was not, however, directly followed by Jehan Acart, who, by choosing to write an allegorical narrative, created a work in which the lyrics had an interpretative function with respect to the narrative, as well as themselves gaining an explanatory context.

In the *Remède*, we find all these elements drawn together and extended by Machaut. Firstly, the work resembles romance more closely than allegorical *dit* since, like the *Castelain de Couci*, Machaut's narrative gives an episodic account of the occasion for each song. The account is certainly fictional, yet the events are not refracted through an allegorical prism but, for the most part, directly mirrored from his own social surroundings. The circumstances for each song correspond to the song's formal status: thus the *lai*, the first song to be quoted, represents the poet's love for his lady in the form which he would most like her to read or hear, that is, in the most elaborate and technically impressive of all the lyric forms.78 The *complainte*, in turn, suits the lover
in solitary mood when he is at his lowest depth of despair; by contrast, the *virelai* is performed during a *carole*, in the company of courtiers entertaining themselves.

Secondly, in each case, Machaut describes the songs in precise, pedagogic terms. The *complainte*, he explains, was composed on the subject of "Fortune et de mes dolours, / De mes pensers et de mes plours". This piece is:

Un dit qu'on appelle complainte,
Ou il averoit rime mainte,
Qui seroit de triste matiere. (901-03)

We see here an example of Machaut's determination throughout this work to define the lyric genres as well as simply to present them. He defines them in terms of rhyme, *matière*, and title (he is particularly insistent, for example, that the *virelai* should be called *chanson baladée*); he also defines them in terms of their occasion. With the *Castelain de Couci*, once more, as a precedent, Machaut gives the narrative setting for his songs the same exemplary stamp as the songs themselves. He is legislating, in short, not only for the lyric forms, but also for the kind of narrative *dit* which contains lyric forms.

The *Remède* makes an easy transition from the kind of poetic respect that is appropriate to the works of a *trouvère* of a previous generation (also shown by Nicole de Margival) to that which is appropriate to the author's own lyric compositions. With remarkable confidence, Machaut not only writes the first *dit* to reckon fully with the authorial responsibility implied by the interpolation of lyrics, but establishes as the *locus classicus* of such an attempt. His approach owes something to the *dits à refrains* as well as to Nicole and Jakemés. For in *Li Prison d'Amours*, as we discussed, Baudouin de Condé ascribes an authority to his *refrains* which confirms his own argument about love.

In a sense, the *Remède* demonstrates the reverse process. Since the songs are his own, and, it seems, specially composed for the work since they do not occur in his separate lyric collections, Machaut cannot in the same way claim to bring them in from outside. They must stand or fall as examples of verse deliberately created by the poet, not to confirm the language of his *dit*, but to reiterate it in the most accomplished manner possible. This is a bold move, yet it can also be understood as a logical response to the
seriousness ascribed to lyric poetry by previous writers of love narratives with lyric interpolations.

In considering the songs enclosed in the Remède in more detail, I will be paying particular attention to the fact that Machaut includes a musical setting for seven of them: the lai, complainte, chanson roial, baladelle, balade, virelai and rondeau.79 These represent model verse forms (as has often been remarked): Machaut also gives them exemplary musical forms.80 For two of these, the complainte and the chanson roial, the Remède provides the unique example of a musical setting by Machaut. The lai, complainte, chanson roial and virelai are monophonic; the rest are polyphonic, the two balades in four parts, the rondeau in three parts. Machaut makes clear and precise reference to the music of the songs as well as to their words throughout the dit, each time carefully distinguishing "chant" from "dit". For example, this is how Esperance introduces her baladelle:

Mais einsois de ma clere vois  
Te diray une baladelle,  
De chant et de dîtte nouvelle... (2850-52)

Similarly, when the narrator comes to compose the balade, he refers to it as a dual activity:

Tantost fis en dit et en chant  
Ce ci que presentement chant (3011-12)

Machaut's description of the performance of the chant roial by Esperance mingles the two terms in a way which suggests an intriguing correspondence with a passage in Deschamps' treatise on lyric poetry, L'Art de Dictier. In talking of the two kinds of music in lyric, musique naturele and musique artificielie, Deschamps claims that they form a close union:

ces deux musiques sont si consonans l'une avecques l'autre, que chascune puet bien estre appellee musique, pour la douceur tant du chant comme des paroles qui toutes sont prononçees et pointoyées par douçour de voix et ouverture de bouche; et est de ces deux ainsi comme un mariage en conjunction de science, par les chans qui sont plus anobliz et mieulx seans par la parole et faconde des diz qu'elle ne seroit seule de soy. Et semblablement les chançons natureles sont delectables et embellies par la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs du chant de la musique artificielie. (pp.271-72)

The music of the words - their "natural" euphony or "douceur" - combines, says Deschamps,
with the "musique artificiele" - the musical notes, distributed among different parts - to form a marriage of delectable consonance and harmony.

When Esperance finishes her chanson roial, she teasingly asks the narrator for his reaction:

Que te samble de ma chanson?
...Ne me diras tu rien,
Se je say chanter mal ou bien?
Se ce n'estoit pour moy vanter,
Je dirioe de mon chanter
Que c'est bien dit.  (2041, 2045-49)

First she asks him quite clearly what he thought of her singing; but then she phrases her own view of her performance in apparently contradictory terms as "chanter" that was "bien dit". That this is not the usual inscrutability of terminology amongst medieval writers is suggested both by the context of the song, and by some later comments by the narrator. For the song comes in the midst of a long attempt to console the narrator by rational argument, as a pause from the discussion but also as a further means of leading him out of misery into joie (1973-74). It is expressly performed, in other words, to give him ease and comfort, to penetrate his despairing, semi-conscious state of mind. (The Boethian derivation of this whole process will be discussed in a later chapter.) It is appropriate then, that the song should be performed with the greatest possible harmony and sweetness, with the two "musiques" sounding together.

This interpretation of Esperance's phrase is supported by the narrator's eventual admission that despite his unresponsive appearance he had indeed heard the song very well, and appreciated its effect:

Et je qui encor sommilloie,
Nom pas fort, car bien entendoi
Ce qu'elle avoit chanté et dit
En rime, en musique et en dit...  (2097-100)

According to him, she has both sung and spoken the song, conveying in performance three of its features: rhyme, music and words (probably to be glossed as "verbal meaning"). Machaut distinguishes here (in Deschamps' terminology) between musique naturele, musique artificiele and verbal meaning.  

124
By setting a complete collection of lyric verse forms and music into a *dit*, Machaut is putting on display every facet of his artistic skill. The framework of lyric set into narrative in this work implicitly raises, and then resoundingly answers, the question of what kind of poet and musician Machaut is. Characteristically, Machaut seizes the opportunity for self-praise: in the words of Esperance quoted earlier, Machaut points out that the *chant roial* was really rather good ("Se ce n’estoit pour moy vanter, / Je diroie de mon chanter / Que c’est bien dit"; 2047-49). Similarly, in *La Fonteinne Amoureuse*, both the *complainte* itself and the narrator’s comments draw attention, with self-admiring incredulity, to the huge number of different rhymes contained in it. He thus allows his *dits* to contain their own applause for the lyric art enclosed within them.  

In the case of the *Remède*, this potential is implied by the very range of the enclosed lyric forms. This puts a different slant on the observation that the work is a *summa* of the lyric art of the period before 1340. Seen in the light of the preoccupation evident in thirteenth-century poetry with juxtapositions of genre, the range of lyric types in the *Remède* appears not only as an attempt to exemplify different lyric genres, but as an indication of Machaut’s interest in genre itself. By writing a *lai*, *complainte*, *balade* and so on, Machaut is exploring all the current possibilities of how to cast the experience of love into poetic form. He is not simply examining the distinction between lyric and narrative, but between all the genres of love poetry put together.  

It is significant in this regard, that the *Remède* should also include an example of the *refrain*. He does not set it to music (which is similarly absent from the twelve-stanza *priere*) and so its presence has been hardly remarked. Nonetheless it bears all the characteristics of the thirteenth-century type. It occurs straight after the *virelai* which Machaut has been asked to sing during his turn in a *carole*:

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Après ma chanson commansa
Une dame qui la dansa,
Qui moult me sambloit envoisie,
Car elle estoit cointe et jolie.
Si prist a chanter sans demeure:
«Dieus, quant venra li temps et l’eure
Que je voie ce que j’aim si ?»
Et sa chanson fina einsi. (3497-3504)
```
No refrain appears in precisely this form in Boogaard’s bibliography, (which does not, of course, extend this far in date) but several resemble it in thought and wording. 84 It is striking that Machaut should give the refrain so firm an association with dance-song. This whole scene in the Remède, exquisitely illustrated in BN f.fr. 1586, 85 is undoubtedly a recreation of the querole described in the Roman de la Rose where Leesce starts up the singing of refrains:

*Bien sot chanter et plesanment,
ne nule plus avenamment
ne plus bel ses refrez feist.* (729-31)

But it is important to recognise that, in its inclusion of dance-songs and refrains, the scene equally recalls Guillaume de Dole (see especially lines 286-333, quoted in chapter 2).

Machaut’s inclusion of a refrain amongst all the other lyric genres is interesting on several counts. Firstly, it suggests that he regarded the refrain as a genre, a status which, as we saw in chapter 1, recent scholars such as Bec have been reluctant to grant it. Yet here, even more clearly than in Guillaume de Dole, there is no question of the refrain standing as an abbreviation: in the Remède of all works, abbreviated lyric forms would have no place. Ironically, there is the same frustrating lack of music for the song as in Guillaume de Dole; it seems likely that Machaut saw no reason to include a traditional tune amongst compositions of his own of much greater complexity. We are also left unclear (as usual) as to exactly how the refrain, short as it is, accompanied the dance. Nonetheless, the scene shows Machaut rehearsing precisely the same steps as Jean Renart, thus confirming the tight links between works in this tradition.

As well as this refrain, Machaut quotes in passing one of the most current refrains of the period:

*Qui bien aimme, a tart oublie* (4256)

It is the first line of his Lai de Plour; it occurs as the refrain of a ballade by Deschamps and another by Gower (‘Ma dame, si cee fust a vo plesir’); and is written in place of the roundel in several manuscripts of Chaucer’s Parliament of Fowls. 86 The refrain was also widely used in the thirteenth century (see Boogaard, refr.1585). 87 In
particular, it is scribbled onto the final flyleaf of one of the manuscripts of the *Roman de la Poire*: in the same way, Machaut quotes it as the last line of the *dit* (before the brief epilogue). From this we can see that Machaut not only associated *refrains* with dance-song but employed them, like Thibaut, Baudouin de Condé and the *Salut* poets, as amorous epithets. Another is imitated, for instance, in the *complainte* set into *La Fonteinne Amoureuse*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dont vient cils maus ?} & \ \text{Il vient d'oultre la mer,} \\
\text{Si m'ocirra...} & \quad (493-94)
\end{align*}
\]

This is a close variant of:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Don[t] vient li maus d'amier} & \\
\text{qui m'ocirra ?} & \quad \text{(Boogaard, refr.595)}
\end{align*}
\]

However, it is only in the *Voir Dit*, his last major composition, that Machaut weaves *refrains* into his narrative with any consistent purpose. He does so in three major ways: by quoting common *refrains* as if they were proverbs (as in the examples above); by re-quoting *refrains* from his inset lyrics within the narrative or the letters; and finally, by linking together pairs of lyrics with the same *refrain*, a practice fairly common in his *Louange des Dames*.

In the first, the *refrains* are indistinguishable in function from proverbs. *Qui bien aimme* appears again, in a letter and in a narrative section late on in the work where Machaut is being warned of Toute-Belle's unfaithfulness, and also *Ne couars n'ara belle amie* (the first line of a *refrain* which is quoted in the *Traduction d'Ovide*, Boogaard, refr.898), spoken by Esperance (2105) and Toute-Belle (2552). *Qui bien aimme* seems to be one of Machaut's favourite expressions, forming part of his personal language in much the same way as "Pitee renneth soone in gentil herte" formed part of Chaucer's. *Qui bien aimme* is an example of a *refrain* that passed into general proverbial usage, a kind of dissemination different, for instance, from the equally popular tag *Cui lairai ge mes amors*? (Boogaard, refr.385), the sources of which are nearly all musical.

There is not space to discuss the examples of his other uses of *refrains* in detail: in any case, some have already been considered by Jacqueline Cerquiglini in her full-length
study of the *Voir Dit*. The importance of his procedure, as she rightly demonstrates, is that it creates a very close interlinking between lyric and narrative, in which themes and phrases from the inset lyrics provoke repetition and amplification in the form of narrative. As she explains, "il est possible, à l'intérieur des pièces lyriques, de cerner davantage la source du sens et de la narration" (p.37).

The process of "l'enchâinement" of lyric and narrative is achieved by the refrains of the lyrics. Thus the refrain "Qu'assez reuve qui se va complaignant" of the *ballade* beginning "Le plus grant bien qui me viengne d'amer" (Paris, p.100), is quoted twice more in the ensuing narrative, first by the narrator, then by Toute-Belle in reply (2530 and 2548). Cerquiglini describes the effect of this multiple citation of refrains in the following terms:

Cette structure de proverbe fait de ce refrain un énoncé éminemment citable, parce qu'éminemment réappropriable. Le refrain-proverbe devient alors susceptible de se disperser dans tout le texte. Il mime de plus, par sa répétition en tant que refrain, l'engendrement qu'il est capable de produire. (pp.37-38)

In the light of our own study of refrains as refrains, and of their use in a wide number of narrative texts reaching back to the early thirteenth century, we can add to these interesting observations in several directions. Firstly, we see in Machaut's frequent re-quotation of refrains an example of refrains being turned into refrains, as it were, visibly. What starts as the refrain of a *ballade*, becomes, through the course of several citations throughout the work, a newly independent phrase which may itself become the subject of narrative discussion. The underlying precedent for this technique is Baudouin de Condé's *Li Prison d'Amours*. The difference is that Machaut now makes explicit what in Baudouin was only implicit: where Baudouin had to seek for variants of refrains to create an accretion of authority for his case, Machaut indulges in self-quotation.92

The case of "Qu'assez reuve" shows the dependence of Machaut's technique on Baudouin particularly clearly. The narrator and Toute-Belle are together for the first time, and meeting each other every day in the *vergier*. Machaut performs to her the *ballade* "Le plus grant bien..." complaining at not being completely cured from love's pains. This prompts a conversation between them in which he amplifies the message of the *ballade* at length.
Finally, he concludes:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Je veuill cy finer mon sermon,} \\
\text{Que trop longuement vous sermon,} \\
\text{Et s'ay bien prouve par mon plaint,} \\
\text{Qu'assez rueve qui se complaint. (2527-30)}
\end{aligned}
\]

In reply, Toute-Belle quotes the same refrain back at him:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Par quoy vo conclusion preuve} \\
\text{Que qui se complaint assez rueve,} \\
\text{Si qu'amis, je responderay... (2547-49)}
\end{aligned}
\]

Just as in the \textit{Prison d'Amours} the refrain is used to conclude the argument, here it is taken as representing the essence of the \textit{ballade} as a whole, but also as a proof or testimony of Machaut's feelings. In this we see a shift from Baudouin: for in the \textit{Prison d'Amours} the refrains bolster the poet's allegorical analogy, whereas here they are supposed to guarantee the "truth" of the poet's sentiments.

One of the most explicit claims of this kind by Machaut occurs in Letter VIII (pp.60-61). He has heard that she doubts his loyalty, and so writes in vociferous defence of his true love. His argument employs an elaborate and ingenious method of self-justification which involves appealing to his own poetry as a witness to his emotional veracity. First he quotes the start of the refrain of the very first \textit{rondel} he had received from her:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Car vous savés qu'il n'est si juste ne si vraie chose comme experience,} \\
\text{& vous poés assez savoir & veoir par experience que toutes mes choses ont été faites de} \\
\text{vostre sentement,} \\
\text{& pour vous especialment, depuis que vous m'envoiastes:} \\
\text{Celle qui onques ne vous vit} \\
\text{Et qui vous aimme loyaument,} \\
\text{car elles sont toutes de ceste matiere. (p.61)}
\end{aligned}
\]

It is a curious argument: he seems to be saying that all his poetry has been written in response to her "sentement", yet as an example of this he quotes from poetry she had written before she had ever met him and inspired purely by his poetic reputation (113-18). The "experience" that he talks about can only, in these terms, refer to the experience of writing poetry. He goes on to quote again, this time a maxim from his own \textit{Remède de Fortune}:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{je ne say ne ne vueil faire de sentement d'autrui fors seulement dou mien & du} \\
\text{vostre, pour ce que: Qui de sentement ne fait, - son dit & son chant contrefait.} \\
\text{(p.61)}
\end{aligned}
\]
In other words, he composes only out of *sentement*, and this is true because elsewhere in another poem he has said that it is impossible to write true poetry if it is not inspired by *sentement*. He clinches the argument by claiming finally that he would not be able to write any more "dis, loenges, ne lais ne chans" if she withdrew her love: an allusion to the start of the *Voir Dit* where he blames his poetical sterility on a lack of "sens, matiere ne sentement" (44).

Once again, we are reminded of Baudouin's casuistry. For Brownlee, the circularity of Machaut's position is evidence of "the self-authenticating (poetic) discourse" of the "je" of the work, who represents at different times (and sometimes at the same time) lover, protagonist, narrator and poet (p.100). However, we are still left with the problem that Machaut bases his "poetic identity" on unashamedly flimsy grounds.

The relation of poetry to the experience of love is nonetheless clearly central to the *Voir Dit*. We have seen that, in line with an earlier tradition, Machaut employs the device of the refrain as a means of using one form of love discourse (lyric) to verify another (narrative). A characteristic and novel aspect of this work is the extent to which he experiments further with presenting his subject of love in a range of generic modes. The first indication of this is that the lyrics, from the start, act not as a form of commentary upon the narrative, but constitute narrative events in themselves. Toute-Belle's first step towards making contact with Machaut is simply to send a rondel ("Celle qui onques ne vous vit"). A lyric sets the relationship in motion, as Machaut himself comments later: it proclaims loyal love ("Et qui vous aime loiaument") yet, as we noted above, it has been sent in response to Machaut's poetic reputation rather than to a personal encounter. To emphasise this Machaut replies with another rondel using the same rhymes: it is a personal gesture couched in the form (in the strict sense) of a poetic gesture; a compliment he is often to repeat throughout the work.

A similar point is made by the frequent references they both make to the "matere" of their lyrics. In her first letter, Toute-Belle mentions the enclosure of her rondel, then asks "se il y a aucune chose a faire, je vous pri que vous le me mandes; & qu'il vous plaise a faire virelai sur ceste matere." (p.16) Recent criticism of the *Voir Dit* has
stressed the "literary self-consciousness" of these moments, and that they demonstrate "the process of literarization of the love experience". To put it another way, Toute-Belle's remark illustrates first, the extreme formality of their love discourse and second, Machaut's interest in how matter is cast into literary form.

The latter becomes the subject of discussion of several of the letters. Take, for instance, this passage from the fourth letter (sent by Machaut):

Je vous envoie aussi une balade de mon piteus estat qui a esté... Si verrez comme je prie aus dames qu'elles se vestent de noir, pour l'amour de moi. J'en feray une autre où je leur prieray que elles se vestent de blanc pour ce que vous m'avez gari... (p.42)

The phrases "mon piteus estat" and "vous m'avez gari", stock phrases of the love lyric, pass quite naturally into the conversational language of the letter: Machaut translates his sentiments into these stock phrases, and casts them straightaway into metaphor. His method recalls the prose commentary concerning the pair of sonnets in *La Vita Nuova*, written about the women mourning for Beatrice. Dante sees the women, he does not actually address them; but, as he explains, he decided that it would make a suitable theme to put into verse, and so he arranges the material accordingly as if he had (XXII, 7-8).

The formality with which the love affair takes place is marked by several passages in which the lovers communicate solely by means of lyric. In these sequences the lyrics are normally paired, in the manner of a dialogue, and linked usually by rhyme or by the same refrain. Only one of these is set into a dramatic context (the occasion of their first meeting); the other four sequences are all set apart from the narrative. To set lyric exchanges such as these into a narrative poem is a novel device, paralleled only by sequences of dance-song such as the "Jeu du Chapelet" in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* and in *Robin et Marion*. Other elements in the *Voir Dit* strike one as similarly experimental, such as the abrupt and unique introduction of allegory in the shape of Esperance (pp.167-83); the curious representation of the five circles of Fortune (pp.334-39); and the fifty-one line monorhymed complaine, with its incessant refrain "Mon cuer, ma suer, ma douce amour" repeated every other line.

The accumulated effect of all these features, including the forty-six prose letters,
is that the practice of interpolation is being stretched to its limits. Machaut subjects interpolation to all kinds of trial: using different forms of lyric, and different forms of narrative (verse and prose), treating lyric as narrative (in the "operatic" sequences) and narrative as lyric (in the repetition and discussion of refrains).

A likely model for his approach, at least in terms of the range of interpolations, is Chaillou de Pesstain's version of the Roman de Fauvel. Chaillou adds several thousand lines to the text by Gervais du Bus, and into this new version sets an astonishing one hundred and sixty or so pieces, all with musical notation. These comprise pieces in Latin as well as French, sacred as well as secular: two- and three-part motets, lais, rondeaux, ballades, refrains, sottes chansons, alleluias, proses, antiphons, responds, hymns and verses. Many of these pieces, particularly the motets - some of which have been ascribed to Philippe de Vitry - are important towards an understanding of Machaut's musical development. As an example of extravagant interpolation, the Roman de Fauvel could well have contributed to Machaut's thinking in his narrative compositions.

This discussion of the variety of formal idioms contained in the Voir Dit would be incomplete without a brief additional look at the letters. We have already seen how they serve as a forum of debate between the two lovers, not only on the subject of their love, but also (and it seems to amount to the same thing) on the nature and practice of poetic and musical composition. Their most straightforward function - to project the state and progress of the affair from the lovers' own point of view - derives, as we have seen, from the Castelain de Couci (and also Renart le Nouvel). The element of debate, however, finds a closer parallel in the Saluts d'Amours, particularly when Machaut incorporates refrains.

Since the letters represent the element of the Voir Dit which has the closest claim to reality (in that they purport to be the actual letters exchanged between the lovers), they have figured large in recent critical debate over the historical veracity of the work's claimed autobiographical status. However, as Cerquiglini rightly argues, they cannot be taken as a simple guarantee of autobiographical authenticity, since they have a
considerable precedent as a literary genre, like the interpolated lyrics themselves. Letter-writing was regarded as a species of rhetorical art described in the *artes dictaminis*, and practised most famously by Abelard and Heloïse; in addition, letters occur in chronicles, sometimes modelled on the *Heroïdes*; and as forms of lyric, particularly *complaintes*.99

But there is one example of a *lettre d’amour* (briefly mentioned by Cerquiglini in a footnote), an Anglo-Norman correspondence, which suggests that the issue remains rather more ambiguous than she allows.100 In one sense, the piece confirms her point, because part is worked roughly into octosyllabic couplets, finishing with a *refrain*, and part is in prose. On the other hand, it is evidently a genuine correspondence, not a fictional one; the mixing of forms, even here in an authentic context, should make us hesitant in leaping to any easy distinction between fictional and social literary practice. This anonymous *correspondance amoureuse* thus forms a very interesting counterpart to that delicate and elusive penumbra of fiction and *affaire de coeur* which Machaut’s poem seems to inhabit.

The English connection provided by this Anglo-Norman letter is apposite as a last word on the *Voir Dit*. For, itself the sum of so many diverse elements from the French tradition of interpolated lyric, it in turn prefigures an English poem, Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*. Once again, it is Jakemés’ *Castelain de Couci* which is the source of inspiration for features common to all three works: the strong elements of romance, the blend of *fabliau* and high seriousness, and finally, the arching pattern of woe - weal - and woe interlaced with lyrics. But that is the subject of another chapter.
One of the most significant changes in the use of song in fourteenth-century French love narratives is that poets started to enclose their own songs. It was in this form that the practice of including songs most influenced Chaucer, although he, too, refers to many popular songs throughout his entire corpus. He encloses examples of song in the longer lyric forms, *ballade*, *rondeau* and *compleynte*, in all of his major love poetry: the *Book of the Duchess*, the *Parliament of Fowls*, *Anelida and Arcite*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, the *Prologue* to his *Legend of Good Women*, the *Knight's Tale*, the *Clerk's Tale*, the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Franklin's Tale*. In the following two chapters I will concentrate on two of these works in particular: the *Book of the Duchess* and *Troilus and Criseyde*. In *Troilus* I shall discuss how the presence of songs derives not only from French practice, but also from the other main influences upon the poem: Boccaccio’s *Il Filostrato* and Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*. In the case of the *Book of the Duchess* it will be my concern to trace the transition between the French and the Chaucerian handling of lyric.

The *Book of the Duchess* offers considerable opportunity to examine the development of this French practice within English poetry. Despite Wimsatt’s detailed demonstration of the way in which thirteenth- and fourteenth-century love *dits* and allegories provide either an immediate source or a tradition for nearly every part of the *Book of the Duchess*, it has not, perhaps, been sufficiently stressed that nearly all these works - with the major exceptions of the *Roman de la Rose* and Machaut’s *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne* - contain songs. That Chaucer’s first use of interpolated song occurs in his first known serious attempt to write poetry at all, itself a work which is deeply reliant on French love *dits*, suggests that his practice of including songs is *symptomatic* of his involvement in French poetry. We shall be paying close attention, in this chapter, to what the poem indicates of Chaucer’s response towards French love poetry; and how, in particular, this may be discerned from his use of song.
It is important to realise, at the outset, that direct connections between poets writing in mixed genres persist in the fourteenth century, not only within France, but also between northern France and England. Just as we saw evidence in chapter 2 of conscious imitation in a group of late thirteenth-century poets associated with Arras, so we find a further group of fourteenth-century poets, working in the Hainault region, who had direct knowledge of these Arrageois works, and who show continued interest in combining song and narrative.

Froissart gives evidence of his reading in his often directly autobiographical *L’Espinette Amoureuse.* Two works that he mentions of particular interest to us are *Le Court d’Amours,* and Adenet le Roi’s *Cleomadès,* which he claims to have read in his youth. It is not surprising to find that he knew *Le Court d’Amours* since, as we noted in chapter 2, its author was attached to the court of Guillaume I, Count of Hainault. This anonymous poet would have been a contemporary of Jean de Conde, who also, like Froissart, worked in the Hainault region. Jean de Conde, who was born between 1275 and 1280 and died in 1345, includes a refrain in his *Lays dou blanc chevalier*; in addition, his *Messe des Oisiaus* (which bears interesting comparison with Chaucer’s *Parliament of Fowls*) while it does not quote song directly, ingeniously superimposes a sung liturgical framework onto a love vision.

Another of Jean’s contemporaries was Watriquet de Couvin, two of whose works experiment with lyric interpolation: the comical *Trois Dames de Paris,* and the *Fatrasie.* Couvin is a village in Hainault, in the same province from which Queen Philippa originated, and also, very probably, Chaucer’s wife. Watriquet himself worked further south as a court minstrel attached to Blois and Châtillon. Jean de Condé, however, worked directly for Guillaume I, Queen Philippa’s father, in memory of whom, as we shall see, Jehan de la Mote was asked to write his *Regret Guillaume.*

Jean de Condé’s own knowledge of thirteenth-century works containing lyrics was
extensive. Firstly, his father, Baudouin, wrote the allegorical dit, *Li Prison d'Amours*, which includes forty-nine refrains. In addition, Jean de Condé knew two important works from the Arras-Lille region: *Renart le Nouvel* and *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*. In fact, he declares in his *Dit d'Entendement* that he had heard *Renart le Nouvel* ("J'ai oï de Renart les vers..."). Ribard points out that *Renart le Nouvel* inspired Jean "avant tout"; the influence of *Le Tournoi* can also be detected in more than one of his compositions. Like Froissart, Jean seemed to know *Cleomadès*; he also knew *Le Castelain de Couci*, itself written by a fellow Hainaultier, Jakemés.

Thus the Arras 'school' of poets discussed in chapter 2 were widely known to later poets working at the court of Hainault. A connection between Machaut and this group is suggested by musical echoes of Adam de la Halle in his compositions. Furthermore, the teasing relation of fact and poetic fiction throughout his *Voir Dit* has an interesting analogue in *Le Tournoi*, which, as I discussed, also plays on its apparent status as a historically accurate diary of courtly behaviour. In addition, he refers in the *Voir Dit* (6086-88) to *La Chastelaine de Vergi*.

With the marriage of Queen Philippa of Hainault to Edward III in 1328, several of these Walloon poets were introduced to the English court. These included Jehan de la Mote (two of whose three surviving compositions are interspersed with songs, *Le Parfait du Paon* and the *Regret Guillaume*), and Froissart himself, who arrived in England in 1361. With his own marriage to one of the Queen's French ladies-in-waiting, Chaucer must have known Froissart well, and clearly had considerable opportunity to become thoroughly familiar with Hainault poetic circles.

II Consolation and song in the *dits amoureux* of Machaut and Froissart

Critics in the past have been quick to condemn the French *dits amoureux* of Machaut and Froissart for their frigidity. Particularly by comparison with Chaucer, Machaut and Froissart have tended to fare badly: to Robinson, for example, the *Book of the Duchess* belonged to an "artificial tradition" from which it made a narrow and fortunate escape
into "real feeling" (p.267). As this view demonstrates, the criterion of judgement is based on a presumed antithesis between "artificial conventions" and "real feeling", the one necessarily precluding the other.\textsuperscript{11} This issue is also still very much alive in the related case of the medieval court lyric, as John Stevens insists: "the degree to which personal feeling is involved in medieval lyric, whether sung or spoken, is a quite central question".\textsuperscript{12}

His own argument in relation to Machaut's *Remède de Fortune* and *Voir Dit* may be represented as follows:

We discover a series of poems purporting to be personal utterances but being, in fact, predictable courtly gestures. It is not surprising that this is the great age of the *formes fixes* (ballade, rondeau, virelai, to name no others). The lyric forms were fixed because the feelings were fixed. To a degree perhaps never surpassed before or since you could be a poet of substance simply by rehearsing, like a ham-actor, a number of well-defined roles. Within these roles, for all their intellectual rigidity and imaginative frigidity, there was room for endless variation, delicacy, elegance, fantasy and refinement. It takes a kind of genius to say the same things over and over again without apparently repeating yourself.\textsuperscript{13} This is an important warning to anyone expecting to take the "personal utterances" of this poetry at their face value. For instance, the *Remède de Fortune*, while it contains Machaut's often quoted claim that he writes only from true feeling, also offers the most support amongst Machaut's *dits* for someone suspicious of the literal truth of this claim. Machaut writes:

\begin{quote}
Qui de sentement ne fait \\
Son dit et son chant contrefait (407-08)
\end{quote}

However, as we saw in chapter 3, the songs seem included primarily for reasons of technical display. There is an example of each lyric form from the *lai* to the *refrain*: Machaut seems intent not on writing from the heart but on presenting an *ars amatoria*.

Do we assume, then, that Machaut in these lines is simply giving us the "lie direct"? This in itself would be simplistic. For, as Stevens argues, it would be a mistake to condemn the work as merely superficial, without recognizing firstly, that it is intended precisely as a work of pure conventionality. It is not as if Machaut is trying to present a work of genuine *sentement* but failing: instead he is presenting a model example of perfectly written, perfectly functional love poetry.
But does not this still leave open the question of Machaut's own relation to his poetry? Machaut may be composing "predictable courtly gestures", but if his poetry is to be genuinely functional, it must bear some relation to sentiment - if not his own, then his patron's. Love poetry that bore no relation to personal feeling at all could not, in the end, escape the charge of sterility. Machaut, I would argue, is well aware of this. He may be in a cast of ham-actors, but he is playing the part for all it is worth. The role-playing which Stevens has articulated so helpfully elsewhere in his study of the 'Game of Love' in Tudor court poetry,14 is conducted at times with a brilliance of ingenuity in Machaut which bears witness not to an elegant barrenness of sentiment, but to his sophisticated awareness of how to handle the limits and constraints of his courtly world. It is to this end that his inset lyrics make a significant contribution.

Nowhere is this better exemplified than in *Le Dit de la Fonteinne Amoureuse*. Machaut's poet-narrator switches roles with uncanny ease throughout. He begins in bed, too melancholy from love to sleep properly. Through the wall he overhears another lover making a complaint. This rouses him from his own depression and he decides to transcribe the whole complaint. This is the first reversal: Machaut presents the poet as a lover who instead of consoling himself by writing his own poetry, gains consolation by listening to another lover who is playing at being a poet. The narrator notes with surprise the poetic skill of the complaint (further pointing the confusion of lover with poet), and goes off to find the lover and offer his services to him. The lover turns out to be a knight who accepts his service gladly. His first request is that the poet-narrator should write him a suitable lay about his sorrow: the narrator responds by handing him a copy of the complaint which he had overheard. The knight exclaims with surprise that the complaint is his own. The narrator and his patron then both fall asleep by the Fountain of Love. Having shared a sleepless night, they now share the same dream - as they realise when they wake up. In the dream the knight's lady gives him a ruby ring, and as a final witty touch, turning dream into reality, Machaut makes the knight awake to find the ring on his finger.

The artfulness of this poem subtly works to flatter the poet as well as the patron.
For while the poet apparently relinquishes his role as a poet within the poem, allowing the knight to compose his own complaint, in fact this is a witty deceit, since the complaint, and indeed the whole *dit*, is of course his own. Thus the poet's remarks about the skill of the complaint, apparently a compliment to the knight, are in fact an ingenious form of self-praise. Yet at the same time, in the elaborate web of compliment, the poet's own love experience is edged out. The poet can present himself as sharing the whole *dit* with the patron, but just as this works in one sense to flatter the poet's skill, in another it emphasises his humble position. The dream which they share at the Fountain of Love concerns only the knight's love affair, not the poet's. In other words, while there is room for the poet as poet, there is no room for him (except as a mirror-image of his patron) to present himself as a lover.

The *Fonteinne Amoureuse* precisely poses the question of what relation the poet has to the sentimental subject of his poetry when, as in this case, the sentiment is not his, but another's. Machaut treats the question lightly by creating a plot in which the poet finds his own role as a poet redundant because the lover in this case has managed to write his own love poetry for himself. As this is only a fiction, and Machaut has written the whole piece anyway, he implicitly makes a further point. Since he has been able to write a *complainte* for his lord, that his lord could have written for himself, Machaut suggests that there is no difficulty for a poet in expressing another person's feelings of love. His plot claims that whether he or his patron wrote the *complainte*, their identities can be interchanged without loss of *sentement*. In subsuming his own identity to that of his patron, Machaut has apparently managed to express his patron's *sentement* exactly.

While this *dit* is light in tone, the way in which it toys with the poet's identity is potentially disturbing. If a poet can successfully express the feelings of another person, this flatly contradicts Machaut's assertion in the *Remède* that a poet cannot write poetry unless his own feeling is involved. The *Fonteinne Amoureuse* reduces the poet to a cipher, and it is his role as a cipher which Machaut investigates with much wit, and some pathos, in the *Voir Dit*.

Unlike the *Fonteinne Amoureuse* and his two Judgement poems (but like the *Remède*),
Machaut does present himself in this poem as a lover recounting autobiographically all the stages of his love affair. However, it is no ordinary love-affair, but one hampered throughout (often comically) by Machaut's profession as a poet. Machaut's constant worry is that the young girl he loves, Toute-Belle, loves him only as an elder statesman of the poetic establishment, not as a red-blooded lover. Nonetheless, he extracts what dignity he can from being a poet, and much of their relationship is conducted with a literary as well as a sentimental seriousness.

Toute-Belle initiates the relationship by sending Machaut some of her lyrics for his critical attention, and their subsequent love-letters are as full of commentary on the style of their lyric poetry as of protestations of their feelings for each other. Their affair is so aesthetically conceived that when they finally come to consummate their relationship, they each celebrate the moment by writing a lyric. Throughout the affair, Machaut deliberately presents himself as a poet struggling nervously and rather ineptly to act like a lover, prodded by the forthright Toute-Belle into a role he finds it difficult to fulfil. He presents himself as someone too bookish to be taken seriously as a lover; yet so bookish that he cannot avoid behaving like a poet even at the very moments where his physical and emotional prowess as a lover is most required.

The central issue of the poem is the poet's difficulty in making a distinction between himself as person and as persona. The poet-figure in the poem has become so used to being a poet, and so used to making fiction out of feeling, that he finds it difficult to experience feeling. What was light-hearted in the Fonteinne Amoureuse has here turned rather sour: for there is something painful about becoming so habituated to representing feeling in poetic form that one cannot tell the difference between the representation and the fact. It is ironically appropriate then, that the main controversy over the poem is based on the question of whether its autobiographical pose is factual or fictional.  

So far we have discussed this problem as if it were peculiar to Machaut, or at least to poets writing within fourteenth-century French court culture. But in a sense, the relation of style to sentiment is the perennial problem of love poetry. There is no simple
division between poets of convention and poets of "real feeling" (to use Robinson's phrase). Any poet has to reckon with conventional language in order to express "real feeling"; in order to sound as if he means what he says he feels.

What could be said particularly to characterise the love poetry of this culture is the use to which it puts artifice. It would be a mistake to talk of this poetry as if it were aiming to articulate an accurate rendition of feeling, when its whole effort is to give relief to feeling, not to express it. In this sense, artifice is the solution to the problem, rather than the cause of it. The mastery of form accomplished in the lyric *formes fixes* becomes a way of mastering the feelings expressed within it, so that the poetry deliberately and consciously tames feeling. We should beware then, of accusing it of being merely tame.

Convention seen in this light is not necessarily a vice in these poems, although the closeness of conscious artifice to artificiality has led some critics to view it as such. The works of Machaut bring relief to feeling by dealing with it in a way which brings it under control.

This is why the songs contained within the love *dits* play such an important part. In purely functional terms, the songs (and often, by extension, the *dits*) are, first of all, a means of helping the lover simply by communicating his feelings to his mistress. To take a characteristic example, in the epilogue of the *Panthère d’Amours*, Nicole de Margival describes himself going to his lady with a *rondeau* which makes known his love to her, to which she replies with a second *rondeau* accepting his service, whereupon the poet confirms her answer joyfully in a third.

In the second place, the very process of expressing feeling in a lyric acts as a distraction from it. Both Machaut and Froissart repeatedly assert that this is a consoling activity for the lover. Thus Machaut begins *La Fonteinne Amoureuse* by saying that he will write this poem in order to give himself delight and consolation (as a change from melancholy):

```plaintext
Pour moy deduire et soulacier...
Vueil commencer a chiere lie,
En l’onneur ma dame jolie,
```

141
By taking on the dual role of lover and poet, Machaut's narrator is able to detach himself from his painful experience of love, by being able to turn this experience into a "chose qui sera liement / Veuè".

Froissart makes this idea even more explicit within Le Paradis d'Amour by causing the narrator to remark himself how the songs he has just composed during the dit have helped to lighten his mood. Having begun the dit in a state of melancholy, he is both chided and cheered by two ladies, Esperance and Plaisance. They give him a lengthy lecture, then take him to see the God of Love. On the way, Plaisance asks the narrator to sing a rondeau for them. Having obliged, he immediately remarks:

Point n'avoie lors le coer triste. (868)

After the serious instruction in love, this rondeau and the one that immediately follows, act as a pleasurable relief, a welcome lightening of tone which restores the narrator's feelings of joie. Froissart owes a great deal here to Machaut's Remède, where again the dejected lover receives a lengthy rebuke lasting some 1300 lines from Esperance. To start the process of recovery, she sings him a chanson royal. Before she finally leaves him, counselling him to go and seek his lady without fear, she sings a baladelle. The lover, feeling considerably comforted, sings a balade himself.

If Froissart owes much here to Machaut, then both dits have a further debt to which Machaut, especially, makes frequent allusion, not least in the title of his poem. For just as the figure of Esperance in each dit borrows the manner, tone and often also the words of Dame Philosophy in Boethius's Consolation, so the songs have a very similar consoling purpose. Apart from Hoepffner, few have remarked that Machaut not only translates directly from the Latin, he also imitates the prosimetric structure of the Consolation. The narrators in both the Remède and the Paradis, like Boethius, begin by making bitter complaints which reveal their need for patient correction. Song, and more specifically, music, as Dame Philosophy explains, is a vital element in the process of restoration:
Sed tempus est haurire te aliquid ac degustare molle atque iucundum, quod ad interiora transmissum validioribus haustibus viam fecerit. Adsit igitur rhetoricae suadela dulcedinis...cumque hac musica laris nostri vernacula nunc leviores, nunc graviores modos succinat. (II, pr.1; p.21)

[It is time, then, for you to take a little mild and pleasant nourishment which by being absorbed into your body will prepare the way for something stronger. Let us bring to bear the persuasive powers of sweet-tongued rhetoric...and let us have as well Music, the maidservant of my house, to sing us melodies of varying mood. (p.54)]

The third _metrum_ of Book I exemplifies this process. Boethius’s eyes are so filled with tears that he is not capable of responding articulately to Philosophy’s first words. She perceives that this "blinding cloud of worldly concern" must first be dispelled. Thus, with maternal care, she wipes his tears with a fold of her dress and sings of the dazzling light which will cause darkness to flee:

> Tunc me discussa liquerunt nocte tenebrae
> luminibusque prior rediit vigor,...
> emicat et subito vibratus lumine Phoebus
> mirantes oculos radiis ferit. (p.8)

>[The night was put to flight, the darkness fled,
And to my eyes their former strength returned...
Out shines the sun with sudden light suffused
And dazzles with its rays the blinking eye. (p.38)]

Boethius comments immediately after the song: "In the same way the clouds of my grief dissolved and I drank in the light." With his "thoughts recollected" he is able now to recognize Philosophy for who she is.

The song acts directly to clear Boethius’s mind: its words, describing the power of light to pierce through the clouds, perform their own meaning. Machaut takes the same image and applies it to Esperance’s appearance:

> Si clerebent resplendissoit
> Que sa clarté esclarissoit
> Les tenebres, la nuit obscure
> De ma dolereuse aventure,
> Et de son ray persoit la nue
> Qui longuement s’estoit tenue
> Tourble, noire, anuble et ombrage
> Seur mon cuer et seur mon visage (Remède, 1519-26)

In the same way, the _chant roial_ acts to penetrate Amant’s gloom. Later Amant praises Esperance in terms which are redolent of musical associations. She is so "douce" that she is beyond the calculation of even such subtle musical minds as Arismetique, Pytagoras,
Musique herself, Michalus, Milesius and Orpheus.\(^\text{19}\)

Machaut’s references to Musique elsewhere stress her fundamental connection with *joie*.

According to his often-quoted definition of Musique in his ‘Prologue’:\(^\text{20}\)

\[
\text{...Musique est une science} \\
\text{Qui vuet qu'on rie et chante et dance...} \\
\text{Partout ou elle est, joie y porte;} \\
\text{Les desconfortez reconforte,} \\
\text{Et nès seulement de l'oir} \\
\text{Fait elle les gens resjoir.} \quad (85-86, 91-94)
\]

Again, in the *Remède de Fortune*, he writes of song:

\[
\text{Car chanters est nez de leèce} \\
\text{De cuer, et plours vient de tristece} \quad (423-24)
\]

In other words, songs flow as naturally from a light heart as tears from sadness.

It is important not to mistake these claims in Machaut as either more frivolous or more serious than they really are. Writing a generation later in his *L'Art de Dictier* (in 1392), Deschamps describes music as "la médecine des VII arts"; the art whose powers of refreshment make it "plus habiles après a estudier et labourer aux autres VI arts" (p.269). Deschamps’ definition of music evidently appeals to its aural rather than its technical aspects. Certainly, Boethius’ *De Musica* or Martianus Capella’s book on music in his *De Nuptiis* could not be described by any stretch of the imagination as a refreshing pause from the labours of understanding the other six liberal arts.\(^\text{21}\) However, Deschamps and Machaut interpret music in a much looser aesthetic sense which is concerned with the practical effects of music rather than a learned analysis of it.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to dismiss the curative notion of music as an aesthetic frivolity. As Madeleine Cosman points out, medieval physicians in fact took music very seriously indeed: "medical theorists in their texts and practitioners with their patients remarkably utilized both musical ideas and musical performance in diagnosis of disease, prognosis of cure or death, and treatment by medication or surgery."\(^\text{22}\) There is no need to read medical theory into the *Remède* or the *Paradis* to accept that Machaut and Froissart did not invoke the consolatory power of music solely as a banal artistic convenience.
Their concern with Boethius' *Consolation* could thus be described as a courtly appropriation of it. A pattern is established in Boethius' work of bitter complaint in lyric metres followed by an argued process of correction, in turn augmented and ameliorated by further songs. Machaut and Froissart translate this into a courtly setting, in which the complaint becomes a lover's complaint, with the lover then rebuked by allegorical figures from the *Roman de la Rose*, and soothed by songs in the *formes fixes*. In a sense, Machaut simply took further the step initially made by Adam de la Bassée in his *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*. Adam's work is a scholastically-inspired experiment in giving Boethian musical theory a practical outlet, by setting thirty-eight pieces of music into a re-worked version of Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*. While few traces of scholasticism remain in Machaut's *Remède* (except perhaps in Esperance's lecture), it has a similar, though more refined purpose.

The *Remède* is all the more like the *Ludus* in that music is given a practical role in the work. In addition, the manuscripts consistently head the songs and speeches with a red rubric indicating which character is singing or speaking, such as Amant or Esperance. This is a practice used in all of Machaut's *dits*, even when, as in the *Fonteinne Amoureuse*, musical notation is not included. Machaut did not write musical settings for all his lyrics: the manuscripts of his works (the publication of which he personally supervised) carefully divide the lyrics into those "ou il ha chant" and those "ou il na point de chans" (as in for example BN f.fr.843). And the presence of music in the *Remède* further contributes to its status as a show-piece. Nonetheless, on the analogy of thirteenth-century manuscripts of works such as *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, *Renart le Nouvel*, and *Aucassin et Nicolette*, it seems likely that the *Remède*, at least, was performed with both speech and music, perhaps by several 'actors'.

Paradoxically, it is Froissart who gives the most detailed descriptions within the *dits* of how the songs are performed, even though there is no evidence that he composed music himself. As Nigel Wilkins has shown, there are many references to the composition and performance of songs throughout *La Prison Amoureuse*, and in the lengthy *Meliador*, which contains no fewer than seventy-nine *ballades*, *virelais* and *rondeaux*.26
In the *Paradis d'Amour*, we find that it is the activity of performing as well as of writing which helps to lighten the poet-lover's mood. This needs to be understood once more as an essential feature of the courtly environment to which Machaut and Froissart belonged. Stevens puts it like this (of late medieval English verse, but it also rings true of these fourteenth-century French poets): "poems purporting to be about the intimacies of joy and grief encountered in the lady's service are made the occasion for social play, for social display and ultimately for social entertainment". 

There are many examples in the *Paradis* which demonstrate this: for instance, the way in which Esperance and Plaisance display their pleasure in the narrator's songs by joining in themselves: "Or le chantons encor a trois" (863) (see also 901-02, 1448-50). That Froissart himself takes a pleasure in performance for its own sake can be seen in the way he varies the details of their participation. In the first *rondel*, the three of them sing the song together three times over: they sing the second *rondel*, it appears, in a harmonised version ("La le chantames d'un acort / A trois sans faire nul descort" (901-02)), but the *virelai* only once in unison; whereas as a final variation, in a phrase difficult to interpret precisely, Plaisance "arranges" the *balade* ("Tout en riant mist la Plaisance / Ceste balade en ordenance" (1654-55)). Both to an internal and an external audience, then, the *Paradis* is written to please, to conform to a social standard.

To reinforce the point that the pleasure provided by the lyrics has its own value, Froissart is assiduous in providing appreciative responses to the lyrics from within the poem. For instance, Plaisance remarks each time on the quality of the four lyrics she asks the narrator to perform:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sitost que lor och recordé,} \\
\text{Dist Plaisance: «Par le corps Dé,} \\
\text{Moult bien me plaist en tous endrois.»} (860-62)
\end{align*}
\]

She even uses the first *rondelet* to aid her judgement of the second:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lors que j'euch fait, Plaisance dist:} \\
\text{«Chils rondelés bien me souffist,} \\
\text{Je le prise bien autrement} \\
\text{Com chils qui est fais par devant.»} (897-900)
\end{align*}
\]

The standard being applied to the lyrics in these cases consists in the degree of pleasure
they inspire. In this way Froissart intends in his poem not merely to give pleasure, but to affirm a principle of pleasure.\textsuperscript{28}

The lyrics thus have a consolatory power, imitated from Boethius, which depends first on their character as poetic artefacts, and second on their character as musical compositions. For the poet-narrator's professional role as an Entertainer, and his ability to stimulate a favourable reaction from his audience, further help to detach him from his sorrows. In being asked to perform, the poet-narrator has a clearly defined path from the pains of love to the charms of readily-appreciated composition. As if to push the point home, Froissart, at the end of the \textit{Paradis}, makes the climax to be not the consolation of the lover in his lady's mercy, but the consolation, provided by the poet for himself, of one last lyric.

In general terms, these inset lyrics in the French love \textit{dits} demonstrate insistently that the poet is a poet, however much he may dramatise himself as a lover. For they exemplify not only the poet's skill, but by being enclosed within a narrative, the poet's view of his own skill. This is particularly the case in Froissart's \textit{La Prison Amoureuse} where, as in Dante's \textit{La Vita Nuova} and \textit{Convivio}, the narrative acts as a commentary upon the lyrics, and thus upon the poet's whole art. In a sense, too, as in the \textit{Remède}, the \textit{dit} serves as the poet's personal anthology of his own work: (to use Gautier de Coinci's metaphor) a means of holding up the choicest flowers of his art for inspection and admiration.\textsuperscript{29}

\textit{La Prison Amoureuse} contains one of the most extended and interesting examples of vernacular poetic commentary in the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{30} Closely imitating the \textit{Voir Dit}, Froissart creates the poem around a series of letters and lyrics, exchanged between himself (given the pseudonym Flos) and a fellow courtly lover (Rose). The topic of their correspondence is \textit{fin'amors}: to which end Rose asks Flos to write a "petit dittie amoureus". Rose replies in turn with an allegorical "songe": both works then receive detailed "exposition nouvelle" and discussion (see Letter IX). Froissart thus steps beyond the \textit{Voir Dit} in two directions: by enclosing \textit{dits} within a \textit{dit}, and by offering a formal
interpretation of their *signification*. In this way, he takes the impetus towards commentary provided by the technique of lyric interpolation to a fascinating extreme.

The nature of the lyrics as artefacts seems to be prized by Machaut and Froissart more than their ability to convey feeling. It might still be objected that far from lessening Robinson's charge of artificiality, this increases it. But for Machaut and Froissart, making feeling artificial is one way of coming to terms with it. Turning feeling into poetry distances the poet from feeling, and it is Machaut's and Froissart's achievement to realise that this very distance between "personal utterances" and "predictable courtly gestures" may be turned to advantage. By diverting the audience in such a pleasurable way, the songs are not so much an outlet of feeling as an amelioration of it. In this way, Machaut and Froissart quite deliberately use the artificial character of the lyrics as a device to set the limits of emotional engagement in the *dits*. The lyrics do not allow great depths of feeling to be plumbed, because they are inherently restorative. To accuse Froissart's and Machaut's poetry of being emotionally lightweight is to ignore the point that to offer anything more serious would be to go beyond the bounds of decorum which they consciously set.

This may be clearer if we compare the delicately mutual relationship between social and literary "game" in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, discussed in chapter 2. Bretel uses *refrains* to create a socially charged atmosphere caused by the way in which *refrains* enables characters to play out their relationships in public, able to tease one another with the very impersonality of the *refrains*. In other words, the distance between the words and the sentiments which they are supposed to embody is itself turned into a source of amusement: a love game in which no one is quite sure how seriously the protestations of love are being either meant or taken.

But this game relies on the capacity of conventional phrases of love to convey genuine feeling, as it were in spite of themselves. It also relies, in part, on the anonymity of *refrains* as poetic expressions. By including their own songs in their *dits*, Machaut and Froissart, it is true, encourage a solipsistic atmosphere. Yet, at the same time, the distance between *sentement* and poetic expression remains a source of interest in their
dits, not a demonstration of their frigidity.

What conclusions can we reach, then, about the ways in which Machaut and Froissart handle sentiment in their dits amoureux? I have been arguing that the often elaborate artifice of lyric is used, not as an excuse to ignore personal feeling altogether (while paying lip-service to it), but as a means of setting limits on the emotional weight of their poetry. These limits are carefully gauged according to the decorum appropriate to the status of the dits as court poems; and are governed by the principle of consolation, itself a courtly theft from Boethius.

III The Book of the Duchess and contemporary elegy

The Book of the Duchess, at first sight, gives a clearer indication of its place in courtly society than any of Chaucer's poems, since it evidently deals with a specific event at court, the death of Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, redated recently by John N. Palmer to 12th September, 1368. Indeed it has been called "the supreme example of public elegy in the style of courtly love." Yet there are many aspects of the poem which make it strangely recalcitrant towards definition within a courtly context. For instance, the three manuscripts in which the Book of the Duchess survives show no sign of patronal support. Unlike contemporary French works, and the manuscripts of Lydgate and Hoccleve, none of Chaucer's works survives in a presentation copy, or with a patronal portrait. Derek Pearsall finds this "a strange gap in the evidence we might expect to have" amongst Chaucer's works in general. It is especially surprising in the case of the Book of the Duchess, precisely because its connections with Gaunt seem to be evident.

There is no evidence of any other kind that Gaunt directly commissioned the work. Furthermore, all the arrangements made by Gaunt to commemorate Blanche's death, which were kept up annually until his own death in 1399, were fairly small-scale for an aristocrat of his standing. For instance, while there is a record that Chaucer and his wife were granted funds for mourning cloth on 1st September, 1369 for Queen Philippa's death on August 14th., there is no such record following Blanche's death. The most public of the
annual events seems to have been the solemn high mass celebrated in St Paul's Cathedral, which involved not only a large proportion of the Cathedral chapter and clergy, but also twenty-four poor men of the city. On the same day after the mass, a supper was held each year at the Duke's town house, the Savoy. Detailed accounts for the supper survive only for the one held in 1374, since this was the first which the Duke attended in person. Even this occasion, however, seems to have been relatively modest, with enough food and drink for perhaps sixty people. 36

It has usually been assumed by those who have considered the historical evidence in any detail that Chaucer's poem was probably performed at one of these anniversary suppers. 37 Yet the Duke was not present in person at a supper until 1374. It is difficult to imagine that the poem was first performed to an audience which did not include Gaunt. The supper is only likely as an occasion, then, if we are prepared to date the poem as late as 1374, a dating unlikely on other grounds. 38 Our problem is less the date of the poem than its public status as an elegy. Unfortunately, the evidence is inconclusive for both; but it seems, precisely because of this, that the Book of the Duchess was intended for a much more restricted audience than is generally supposed.

Just as the public character of the Book of the Duchess has often been taken for granted, so has its status as an elegy. Yet the poem's relation to contemporary elegies has rarely been discussed. When we do examine other elegies, we find that they bear all the signs of courtly functionality which the Book of the Duchess lacks. There are three examples of elegy which provide a highly pertinent comparison with Chaucer's poem, since they were written respectively for Blanche herself, for Blanche's mother-in-law, Queen Philippa, and for Queen Philippa's father, Guillaume I of Hainault.

We have already seen that not only Froissart but also Jehan de la Mote was involved with the English court. Jehan apparently made repeated visits to England: as Nigel Wilkins has recently pointed out, he received an annual grant from Edward in 1338, and he was involved in court entertainments at Eltham in 1343. 39 It is clear therefore that Chaucer was not writing his elegy in isolation: on the contrary, the Book of the Duchess is part
of what might be called a familial tradition of elegiac poetry. That a group of elegies surrounds the *Book of the Duchess* historically has gained far less attention than its heavy dependence for details of structure, plot and phrasing on love *dits* by Machaut and Froissart, and their antecedents, for the obvious reason that the elegies influence it less. Yet this is in itself a point to be remarked. It is odd that a poem about death should owe more to a love tradition than to an elegiac tradition, especially one so closely connected with John of Gaunt’s family.

The example of elegy which bears closest comparison with the *Book of the Duchess* consists in a few commemorative lines by Froissart on both Philippa and Blanche in his *dit, Le Joli Buisson de Jonece*:

La bonne qui pourist en terre,  
Qui fu royne d’Engleterre:  
Philippe eut nom la noble dame;  
Propisces li soit Diex a l’ame !...  
Ossi sa fille de Lancastre,--  
Haro ! mettés moi un emplastre  
Sur le coer !...  
Elle morut jone et jolie,  
Environ de .XXII. ans,  
Gaie, lie, frisce, esbatans,  
Douce, simple, d’umle samblance;  
La tres bonne dame eut nom Blance. (231-34, 241-43, 246-50)

Froissart knew both ladies personally - for he worked under Queen Philippa’s patronage in England from 1361 until her death - and his tone here is correspondingly unforced. His lines on Blanche are in fact reminiscent of Chaucer’s own portrait of Blanche presented through the Black Knight. Froissart mingles the language appropriate to describing the ideal courtly lady of a love *dit* ("gaie, lie, frisce, esbatans, / Douce, simple, d’umle samblance") with the simple yet affecting statement "Elle morut jone et jolie". Yet, unlike Chaucer’s, Froissart’s description of the two noble ladies forms part of a long rehearsal of the virtues of some thirty patrons of his acquaintance. In this context, his commemoration of the Queen and the Duchess, however personally felt, has the explicit social function of enabling him to commend his noble audience.

If even this relatively informal mention of Philippa and Blanche by Froissart has a specific social purpose, then his ‘Lay de la mort de la royne d’Angleterre’ displays its
public character all the more unambiguously:

Moult fu de noble lignie,  
Qui bien l’entame:  
En Hainau prist son baptame,  
Là fu nourie; (9-12)\textsuperscript{41}

Philippa is identified by stages throughout the poem, first by the bleak fact of her death ("Morte est et ensepelie" (1)), then by her birthplace, her noble lineage, and her father (himself the subject of elegy a generation earlier). Froissart alludes constantly to the public’s attitude towards her: she was loved by "roi, duch, conte, chevalier / Et dames de grant reverense" (58-59), just as the Queen herself was a friend to "Mainte dame et mariée, / Mainte pucelle assenée, / Mainte vesve confortée" (87-89). Of a piece with this description of public approbation, is Froissart’s reference to her richly sculpted tomb at Westminster (65-67). This, like the lay itself, acts like a monument of lasting social respect for the Queen.

The third example of elegy, Jehan de la Moie’s \textit{Regret Guillaume Comte de Hainault}, is the clearest case of contrast with Chaucer’s \textit{Book of the Duchess}.\textsuperscript{42} First, it was directly commissioned by Queen Philippa in 1339, two years after the death of her father. Second, the poem draws attention to its own status as a public elegy, both by containing the details of how it was commissioned, and also by its overtly stylised character.

Wimsatt has demonstrated the ways in which certain details of the \textit{Regret Guillaume} correspond to features of the \textit{Book of the Duchess}.\textsuperscript{43} Perhaps the most important, as Constance Rosenthal first pointed out, is that it supplied Chaucer with a precedent for putting an elegy into a dream framework.\textsuperscript{44} Neither Rosenthal nor Wimsatt, however, emphasised the extent to which Jehan de la Mote grounds his elegy in the love \textit{dit} tradition by means of his use of lyric. He begins his dream narrative by saying that he had just finished composing "une cançon amoureuse" which he wanted to take to a \textit{puy d’amour} in order to have it crowned (lines 100-04). It is by wandering off into the forest in search of the \textit{puy} that he finds the castle where he hears loud laments for Guillaume’s death. The laments are made by a group of thirty ladies named Humelité, Largece and Hardemens among others. Each delivers a \textit{complainte} of about a hundred lines, which she follows with a
three-stanza ballade.

By introducing the elegy with a reference to a puy, Jehan implicitly draws attention to the metrical and formal virtuosity of its thirty complaints and ballades. The public circumstances of elegy act as a substitute for the competitive arena of a puy. The work, in other words, has the double function of elegy and showpiece, in which each contributes to the other. Thus the elegy provides Jehan with a platform on which to display his poetic skills, but at the same time Jehan’s virtuosity acts as an implied compliment to his subject. We know, in addition, from Gilles li Muisis’ description in 1350, that Jehan de la Mote (like Machaut and Philippe de Vitry) was famous as a musician, not only as a poet. Although none of his music survives, it seems very possible that his Regret Guillaume was intended as a collection of musical as well as poetic set-pieces, which would have added further to its heavily stylised character.

Despite presenting his elegy within a narrative framework, Jehan does not allow the framework to conceal the elegiac subject of his work in any way. Thus when Jehan names Guillaume, he states his title in full:

Guillaume, conte de Haynnau,
Fu appiellés [et] de Hollandse,
Avoecques celui de Zelande,
Et fu aussi sires de Frize. (338-41)

This is not a personal reference to the man, but a full acknowledgement of his past status and power, both of which are stressed again and again in the complaints and ballades that follow. The manner in which Jehan ends his poem is also revealing. Far from concealing his own role in the elegy, he proclaims it, just as he explains very clearly how and when and by whom his work was commissioned. These details - names and dates - give the work an official stamp: as if it were intended as a document to register public mourning, not only as a poem written to give voice to it.

Unlike Jehan de la Mote and Froissart, Chaucer avoids any kind of reference which would place his poem on a public pedestal, or enable it to act as a mouthpiece for national feeling. In particular, he casts names and dates into riddling obscurity within the poem. John of Gaunt is not named explicitly; there is merely a punning allusion to:
A long castel with walles white,  
By seynt Johan ! on a ryche hil  
(1318-19)

Although this can be deciphered easily as "Blanche of Lancaster" and "John of Richmond", its usefulness as a key to the poem is unexpectedly ambiguous. For rather than cast Gaunt plainly in the role of bereaved husband, Chaucer creates an anonymous Black Knight, the obliquity of whose relation to Gaunt has led one critic to describe him as a "beardless adolescent" and therefore patently not Gaunt, and another even to propose that the Black Knight should be identified with Chaucer himself.46 There are no dates mentioned in the poem, and the only specific reference to time - the eight-year sickness to which the poet refers at the start - has also been a stimulus to critical uncertainty.47

In addition, Chaucer provides only indirect consolation for the Black Knight. This has been observed (and praised) by many; as Lawlor puts it: "In Chaucer's poem something unique is done: we have both consolation and a rejection of it".48 However, seeing the Book of the Duchess in the context of elegies which present their sentiments quite directly, reveals much more sharply that, in this, Chaucer's own elegy flouts expectation. The most important difference in this respect between the Book of the Duchess and both the Regret Guillaume and Froissart's 'Lay' is that Chaucer does not put himself in a direct social relation to the bereavement. He portrays himself and the Black Knight as strangers, not as poet and patron; Blanche is apparently unknown to him personally. Neither at the start nor at the end of the poem does he admit that the dream was anything but a private matter, which he decided to "put in ryme" purely because it was "so queynt". Chaucer uses as a precedent here Machaut's Dit de la Fonteinne Amoureuse where Machaut also presents himself and his patron as if they were unacquainted. Yet Chaucer chooses to do the same not in another love dit, but in an elegy. Furthermore, Machaut still finds room in his poem for various explicit allusions to the public life he shared with the Duc de Berry ("apres disner il m'appella..." (2767)). Chaucer, however, keeps his discretion intact.

The elusive and evasive aspects of the internal relation of the Book of the Duchess to Gaunt's actual bereavement thus match the inconclusiveness of the historical evidence. Seen beside other elegies the description of the Book of the Duchess as "the supreme
example of public elegy in the style of courtly love" looks like an overstatement. This is not to deny the poem's widely acknowledged effectiveness in dealing with death; merely to point out that its means for doing so differ markedly from those of contemporary public elegies.

One feature of importance in these French elegies concerns their choice of lyric as the medium of lament. Froissart's 'Lay' is itself in lyric form, and the Regret, as we have seen, contains thirty complaintes and ballades loosely connected by the framing device of a love narrative. It seems significant, then, that our interpretation of the elegiac method of the Book of the Duchess, as several critics have noted, should turn on the first song - the Black Knight's 'compleynte'.49 The relation between the Knight and the Dreamer - that is, the bereaved and his comforter - sets the tone of the elegy; but this relation is far from clear, since they often appear to be at cross-purposes. What interests us here is that the misunderstanding between the Knight and the Dreamer which forms such a large part of critical discussion of the poem has its origin in the Dreamer's apparent failure to comprehend the meaning of the Knight's 'compleynte'.

IV The problem of the Knight's 'compleynte'

The Knight explicitly states in his song that his lady "is fro me ded and ys agoon" (479). We know that the Dreamer has heard these words because he tells us that he can remember the song well: "ful wel I kan / Reherse hyt" (473-74). Yet in the rest of the poem the Dreamer behaves as if he is entirely unaware that Blanche is actually dead. From Kittredge onwards, the interpretation of this problem has taken one of two forms: either the Dreamer is plainly stupid, or he pretends to be stupid in order to be supremely tactful.50 Proponents of either view have been both vehement and persuasive, although those who have seen the Dreamer as stupid (often qualified to "naive and childlike"),51 have occasionally admitted to considerable bafflement. Tatlock, for instance, felt the whole crux to be an "inexplicable blur"; while Kemp Malone suggested in passing that Chaucer may simply have nodded.52
The views of Tatlock and Kemp Malone illustrate the dangers involved in an interpretation which relies on making a virtue out of an apparent clumsiness. They might rightly be accused of insensitivity towards the genuine delicacy with which bereavement is handled in the poem; but at the same time, their reaction serves as a demonstration of the risk which is taken when a poet treats a public subject by depriving it of the expected proprieties of his own social relation to the event.

Robertson has attempted to solve the problem caused by the song by insisting that "we should think of Chaucer's poem as being 'public', written neither to express the very private feelings of the author, nor to inspire...very private reactions" (p.172). Robertson was writing as a corrective to exclusively psychological interpretations of the poem; but his conclusion that the Knight (a "beardless adolescent") cannot possibly be Gaunt, and that the Dreamer cannot represent Chaucer, only serves to emphasise the difficulty involved in thinking of the poem as public.

It is possible, however, that the encounter between the Dreamer and the Black Knight need be tackled neither on a purely psychological basis, nor on a purely historical one. For the Knight does not explain to the Dreamer that Blanche is dead in the course of ordinary conversation, but in the form of a song. This was first pointed out by W.H. French, who suggested that the Dreamer actually has difficulty in understanding the song because of his own expectations about the conventions of lyric in a love *ditt.*

[The Dreamer] had found a man using the language and forms of a poetry that hitherto had always dealt with lovers separated because one of them suffered a change of heart. He therefore attached no literal significance to the Knight's opening words, but supposed them to embody no more than a rather strong statement regarding a separation.53

French is perhaps over-ingenious in claiming for a character a critical expectation about literary form. But more important, the kind of expectation he accredits to the Dreamer is misleading. He says that "poetry...hitherto had always dealt with lovers separated because one of them suffered a change of heart". But this is both inaccurate and a simplification of the kinds of precedent available to Chaucer for his use of song.

Firstly, the 'compleynte' is based partly upon a motet by Machaut which is indeed about death, not about a separation:
Hé Mors, com tu es haïe  
De moy, quant tu as ravie  
Ma joie, ma druerie,  
Mon solas,  
Par qui je sui ainsi mas  
Et mis de si haut si bas,  
Et ne me pouïës pas  
Assailir.  
(Motet III, 1-8)54

For a French courtly lyric to have death as its subject was therefore not unheard of. In addition, Chaucer had a precedent for the death of a lover in a love dit in Machaut’s Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne.55 The Behaingne, however, while written in an interlocking metrical and rhythmical form close to that used by Machaut in his third Motet, does not itself contain any songs. The most important precedent for Chaucer’s use of song to lament death in a love narrative is, as we have already established, not a love dit but an elegy, Jehan de la Mote’s Regret Guillaume.

Despite French’s claim, Chaucer’s combination of love vision and elegy was not an innovation. French is right, however, to the extent that, unlike Jehan de la Mote, Chaucer does not make the elegiac function of his poem clear. Moreover, the relation of the use of lyric lament in Regret Guillaume to the Book of the Duchess is not straightforward. Jehan uses lyric forms to convey the subject of death, often by apostrophising death in a similar way to the Black Knight.56 But the lyrics in the Regret Guillaume are not thoroughly integrated into the narrative structure of the work. The love vision is used merely as a device to introduce the formal pattern of laments; once the process of lament has been initiated, the device is dropped, to be only cursorily recalled in the poem’s brief epilogue.

Thus the Regret is important to the Book of the Duchess only in a single, limited respect. For the Knight’s song does not proclaim itself as a song of funerary lament; on the contrary, it is the first indication in the poem so far that death is in any way the poem’s subject. We (if not the Dreamer) might be forgiven for supposing that the Book of the Duchess was following the “established sequence” of a love vision, which included not only an autobiographical narrative introduction, an exemplary story (such as that of Ceyx and Alcyone) and a dream set in a garden with birds singing, but also inset lyrics. When
Jehan de la Mote set lyrics into his love vision he made the purpose of the songs very evident. Chaucer, by contrast, uses the Knight's song to introduce the subject of death only obliquely.

V Song and the treatment of death in the Book of the Duchess

To qualify French's observation, then, the real surprise about the 'compleynye' is not simply that it is a song concerned with a literal death, but that it is masquerading as the type of song usually set within a love vision narrative. In order to understand the force of Chaucer's allusion to this particular use of lyric, we must realise that in many respects it differs significantly from the dits. First, it lacks their carefully contrived courtly status. I discussed earlier the ways in which the Book of the Duchess lacks the public, stylised character of an official elegy such as the Regret Guillaume. But even in relation to the dits amoureux, which were not written under the specific conditions of elegy, Chaucer's poem strikes one as an evasion of social demands; a deliberate attempt to avoid any direct allusion to the actual social situation between himself and Gaunt.

Spearing has seen this attempt as in itself a response to "social censorship", that "surely the only setting in which these two could chat together on such a delicate subject, even in fiction, was one made studiously remote from everyday reality". But is not this to put Chaucer's achievement in reverse? In the context of elegy, Chaucer's decision to treat an elegy in the first place as if it were a normal encounter between a poet and his patron in a French love dit is audacious, rather than forced by social circumstance.

If the Book of the Duchess is courtly, it thus contrives to be so in a much less explicit, much more private manner than the French dits. In addition, the narrator lacks a clearly defined social role, either as a lover or as a poet. We shall discuss this in more detail later; here it is enough to note the extent to which Chaucer transfers the attributes of the poet-lover in Machaut or Froissart to the Black Knight.
interesting example of this is that Chaucer's borrowings from the narrator's introduction to the *Remède* are given not to his own narrator, but to the Black Knight. Similarly, although Chaucer's narrator appears to have a problem about love, he himself is not given the chance to indulge in a lyric complaint, only, in his dream, to overhear one. This recalls Machaut's *Fonteinne Amoureuse* where the poet-lover overhears and transcribes a complaint instead of making his own. Yet in Machaut, this situation is presented as a comic reversal; it derives its point from the way in which it deliberately goes against the expectations surrounding a poet's function. In Chaucer, no similar expectations about his narrator are permitted to flourish, even in order to be overturned.

The narrator's lack of a specific social position in the *Book of the Duchess* is confirmed by the emphasis away from performance, or from entertainment in general. It seems significant, because the narrator points it out, that the Black Knight says rather than sings his complaint:

> He sayd a lay, a maner song
> Without noote, withoute song. (471-72)

In the hands of Machaut and Froissart - as we have seen - the lyric would have acted as a protective shield for the Knight against his sorrow, either by providing him with some way of obtaining his lady's favour, or by giving him the opportunity to entertain. But in Chaucer's poem, the Knight has neither source of consolation.

We can see this more clearly by comparing this complaint with the second song which he quotes as an example of what he used to sing to his lady. He tells us that he used to compose many songs "of my felynge myn herte to glade", and that "ofte tyme I song hem loude". This is in the same spirit as Machaut or Froissart: the songs are inspired by "felynge", and contribute to his experience of *joie* ("myn herte to glade"), and he performs them out loud. The passage even hints at the same kind of poetic self-consciousness exhibited by a French poet-lover:

> Trewly I dide my besynesse
> To make songes, as I best koude,
> And ofte tyme I song hem loude,
> And made songes thus a gret del,
> Althogh I koude not make so wel
Significantly, the Black Knight refers to song-writing as an "art", an art which the references to Tubal and also to Pythagoras confirm is an art of "soun". Quick to disclaim his own ability ("I koude not make so wel / Songes, ne knewe the art al"), he is nonetheless drawing attention to the activity as a craft. Even in quoting the song, the Knight’s modest little aside ("I not wher hyt were the werste") has the French implication that his prowess as a poet (not solely as a lover) is at issue.

When we turn back to the first song, however, none of these features are evident. The Knight makes not an artful sound, but "a dedly sorwful soun". When the Knight has finished the song, far from feeling consoled, he nearly faints with extreme sorrow. It is necessary to add that both Machaut and Froissart provide precedents for this. The lovers in the Remède and Paradis each swoon after their complaints, and so does the lady in Behaingne after her explanation (not in lyric form) of her sorrow at her own lover’s death (206-08). Chaucer seems to have combined both kinds of precedent. For (unlike Behaingne) he gives the Knight a complaint to say even though he is speaking of a real death, yet (unlike the Remède or the Paradis) the swoon does not signal the arrival of a figure offering comfort. The Black Knight’s swoon is indeed followed by the arrival of the dreamer, but the dreamer is not an allegorical representation of Hope, but a ‘real’ character who conspicuously fails to offer the expected lecture of "comfort". The Black Knight’s swoon is modelled far more closely on the lady’s swoon in Behaingne, who, as Machaut insists, could not be consoled by ordinary efforts. It is important to stress, then, that the Black Knight’s song exposes him to sorrow, rather than protects him from it. Even its very simplicity seems to draw back from the relief of artifice.

In a recent article, A.C. Spearing has argued persuasively that Chaucer sets up a dichotomy between the literal and the figurative in the poem, embodied by the styles of speech and attitude of the Dreamer and the Knight respectively.59 Spearing sees the
eloquence of the Knight’s speech as a "strategy of evasion", a means of concealing the cause of his grief even from himself. The song, according to Spearing, is an aspect of the Knight's "courtly rhetoric that serves to "wreye / His woo" rather than to express it directly and literally"; that "the figure [of death] acts precisely to conceal the speaker's literal cause of grief, and as far as the Dreamer is concerned, it evidently does so successfully, for he persists in failing to understand what that cause is" (p.170).

Our discussion of the song in relation to French precedent, however, suggests a somewhat different conclusion. First, it is possible to exaggerate the "high style" of the Knight's 'complaigne'. Compared to the complainte in the Remède, for instance, which is 576 lines long, it looks a very simple example indeed of courtly high style. As a song, it could hardly be a plainer, more literal statement of fact. Second, it is not so much that the figure of death in the song acts "to conceal the speaker's literal cause of grief", as that the rest of the poem serves retrospectively to demonstrate that the figure was literally true. The figure of death is rescued from the generality and banality of its use as a metaphor for extreme suffering, and allowed to stand as a direct expression of truth. Rather than finding the song an indulgence in hyperbole, we are shocked to discover that it meant what it said. In this way Chaucer first invites us, through the Dreamer, to accept the expected gap between sentement and verbal expression in a song, and then denies that in this case the gap ever existed. In this way, the capacity of a song to express sentement directly and genuinely is re-asserted.

This will become clearer if we examine references to death in the Book of the Duchess more generally. Spearing also says that "The Book of the Duchess, like other public elegies of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance expresses the feeling appropriate to a death." But this begs the question of what an appropriate response to death might be, a problem which has continued to tax both poets and mourners. It is significant that the response to the three most important discussions of death in the poem, is, in each case, speechlessness. The first of these moments occurs in the story of Ceyx and Alcyone, the
story in which the sleepless narrator finds himself so emotionally absorbed. Morpheus, the god of sleep, causes the dead body of Alcyone’s husband to visit her in a dream. He addresses her in a speech which explains - in Chaucer’s version with almost brutal clarity - the fact of his death.

She is not to sorrow, for he is only dead:

for in your sorwe there lyeth no red.
For certes, swete, I nam but ded;
Ye shul me never on lyve yse. (203-05)

It is difficult to be sure of the tone of "I nam but ded": the blunt way in which Ceyx announces it consorts oddly with the extremity of Alcyone’s sufferings as Chaucer has painted them. Her response is both brief and abrupt:

With that hir eyen up she casteth
And saw noght. "Allas!" quod she for sorwe,
And deyede within the thridde morwe. (212-14)

Chaucer here not only cuts off the rest of the story from the Metamorphoses (told in full in Machaut), he cuts off Alcyone’s speech (as he explains in a characteristically verbose aside in lines 215-20).

The second important reference to death is, of course, the lyric itself. This too, as well as an apostrophe to death, includes a plain statement that someone is dead:

"joye gete I never non,
Now that I see my lady bryght,
...Is fro me ded and ys agoon." (476-77, 479)

Once again, the statement receives no comment: the Knight himself sinks into a cold stupor, and the Dreamer, having been able to "reherse" the ‘compleynte’ in full, makes no further allusion to it at all. Finally, the Knight having come full circle from the ‘compleynte’ to his final admission "She ys ded!", the Dreamer has nothing to say but a cry of surprise, and a simple exclamation of sympathy: "Is that youre los? Be God, hyt ys routhe!"

While these admissions of the plain fact of death prompt silence, or simple cries, throughout the rest of the poem death is repeatedly voiced simply as a metaphor for feelings of extreme sorrow. The narrator begins the poem by wondering how he can still be
active: he has "melancolye / And drede...for to dye" (23-24); similarly he wonders of the
Knight how "Nature / myght suffre any creature / To have such sorwe and be not ded." (467-
69) The association of death with sleeping or swooning is a constant undercurrent: it is
the narrator's sleeplessness which prompts his morbid musings; Alcyone falls into a "dede
sleep", just as the Black Knight's swoon causes his "spirits" to "wexen dede" (489).
Death as a figure of sorrow is, in some senses, elusive. For allusions to death have the
consequence both of lending weight and solemnity to the feelings of sorrow, yet also of
re-iterating their remoteness from the experience of death. However close a swoon appears
to be to death, it nonetheless remains an imitation of death, not an enactment of it.
Death is impossible to enact, yet this is precisely why it has such appeal for the lover
wishing to claim an extreme pitch for his or her emotion. The lover is straining to close
the taunting gap between his wish to die and death itself.

We find the two kinds of asseveration awkwardly juxtaposed at one point in the poem.
Immediately after Alcyone's actual death from sorrow, the narrator exclaims that

"I had be dolven everydel,
And ded, ryght thurgh defaute of slep
Yif I ne had red and take kep
Of this tale next before." (222-25)

This assertion that he would have died had he not read the tale, placed back to back with
Alcyone's real death from sorrow, sounds insouciantly figurative.

Because of the extremity of situation which death represents, it becomes, of course,
one of the most common equivalents for strength of feeling. This in turn reduces the
capacity of death as a figure to represent anything at all. In an elegy, of all types of
poem, treating death figuratively is hazardous. Something of the strain which is placed
on the figure in these circumstances is well represented in the Knight's speeches. Taking
his cue from Machaut, the Knight makes free use of death as a means of expressing his
feelings of love in a phrase which recalls the dead Ceyx's words to Alcyone:

"Allas" thoghte I, "y kan no red;
And but I telle hir, I nam but ded." (1187-88)

which he repeats soon afterwards: "I most have told her or be ded" (1202). Once again,
the two separate contexts for the phrase "I nam but ded" show up the gap between a figure of death and the plain fact of death. The Knight is, as it were, caught between the figure and the fact of death. In aiming to express the strength of his feeling in suitably extreme terms, he runs the risk of failing to understand the figure as a literal truth. The appropriateness of the following passage in this light has an additional twist:

The pure deth ys so ful my foo
That I wolde deye, hyt wolde not soo;
For when I folwe hyt, hit wol flee;
I wolde have hym, hyt nyl nat me.
This ys my peyne wythoute red,
Alway deynge and be not ded (583-88)

It is not only the Knight’s feeling which is paradoxical; so is his attempt to express his feeling. In attempting to give sincere vent to his feelings at Blanche’s death, the Knight applies the figure of death to himself. He is straining to make this more than a mere figure, but is forced to admit that dying simply because he wishes to die is an impossibility. In other words, in trying to match death with an appropriate emotion, he turns it into a metaphor. But this succeeds only in demonstrating how figurative his own feeling is.

Both these means of referring to death, plain and metaphorical, are a sign of the difficulty involved in responding to death; the former in its inarticulateness, the latter, conversely, in its very slickness. The Knight’s complaint is probably the most striking (and puzzling) example of this difficulty of response, in the way it provokes a lacuna in Chaucer’s portrayal of the Dreamer. When we go on to examine details of the encounter between the Dreamer and the Knight more closely, we find that the sense of difficulty in responding to death is emphasised even further.

An analysis of the structure of the encounter shows that it is an original combination, on Chaucer’s part, of two kinds of genre, the ‘complaint and comfort’ poem (as Wimsatt styles it), and the debate poem. The ‘complaint and comfort’ genre, exemplified in La Fonteinne Amoureuse and the Paradis d’Amour, is characterised by its use of long reciprocal monologues, divided between the complainer (Amant) and the comforter
Chaucer breaks up the regularity of this system by introducing short, but lively, sections of dialogue. None of these pieces of dialogue has a direct source in any of the French dits. The pattern of ‘complaint’ followed by ‘comfort’ in the French poem produces a sense of rhetorical equilibrium which itself contributes to the psychological equanimity achieved by the whole poem. But Chaucer’s dialogue disrupts the French rhetorical equilibrium, and not only structurally.

The Dreamer and the Knight begin their encounter in tones of the utmost mutual courtesy. Yet as their conversation proceeds, awkward, almost painful moments of cross-purpose arise. The most prolonged of these situations takes place towards the end of the Knight’s panegyric of Blanche. The Dreamer innocently interposes a mildly concurring remark:

"Byoure Lord," quod I, "y trowe yow wel!\nHardely, your love was wel beset;\nI not how ye myghte have do bet." (1042-44)

But he is immediately contradicted by the Knight:

"Bet? ne no wyght so wel," quod he. (1045)

Trying to make amends, the Dreamer hastily concurs again:

"Y trowe hyt, sir," quod I, "parde!" (1046)

But this, too, meets with correction:

"Nay, leve hyt wel!" (1047)

Once more trying to agree, the Dreamer only makes matters worse:

"Sire, so do I;\nI leve you wel, that trewely\nYow thoghte that she was the beste,\nAnd to beholde the alderfayreste,\nWhoso had loked hir with your eyen." (1047-51)

His mistake, as it has been all along, is to use too moderate a vocabulary. The Knight seeks constantly to upgrade the Dreamer’s words: "bet" must be raised to "so wel", "trowe" to "love hyt wel". Offended by the Dreamer’s implication that Blanche was supreme to his eyes alone, he retorts:

"With myn? nay, alle that hir seyen\nSeyde and sworen hyt was soo." (1052-53)
The Knight even falls into the same error himself later and has to pull himself short:

I wolde ever, withoute drede,
Have loved hir, for I moste nede.
‘Nede’! nay, trewly, I gabbe now;
Noght ‘nede’, and I wol tellen how,
For of good wille myn herte hyt wolde... (1073-77)63

The passage is an extraordinary example (it is difficult to think of any parallel in medieval literature) of words being examined and rejected by a character even as they are spoken.64 The Knight clearly finds the Dreamer’s words inadequate because they fail to be superlative. Superlative language is, of course, characteristic of love lyric. In a sense, then, the Knight is searching for an adequate lyric language in which to express his love. But when the Dreamer tries to use superlatives he sounds unconvincing. The Knight is sensitive even to this: for him, the clichés of admiration ("she was the beste") are not enough if they remain simply as tokens of meaning rather than literal truths. The Knight tries to insist that he is not describing Blanche in a partial way as the "alderfayrest" lady that ever lived, but that she really did live up to this description. His problem, however, is that his efforts at precision succeed only (as they only ever could) in replacing one cliché with another. The situation is rather like crying wolf: how does one assert that one’s beloved really is "without compare", when the language of superlatives has already been plundered by those merely wanting to sound vague notes of praise? Unlike Froissart, who found a way of handling clichés simply by relying on them, Chaucer, through the Black Knight, reasserts that the over-exploited character of lyric language can be a hindrance to meaning.

The Dreamer’s knack of saying the wrong thing extends to his desire to say something consoling to the Knight. As he says at the beginning:

But certes, sire, yif that yee
Wolde ought discure me youre woo,
I wolde, as wys God helpe me soo,
Amenye hyt, yif I kan or may. (548-51)

Yet every time he tries to make some approach towards the cause of the Knight’s sorrow, he is rebuffed by the information that he has no idea what the real situation is:

Thou wost ful lytel what thou menest;
I have lost more than thow wenest. (743-44)
As has often been remarked (though not explained), the Knight repeats this couplet in exactly the same form twice more (1137-38 and 1305-06). Again, the Knight seems to feel that the Dreamer has not taken him seriously enough, that whatever the Dreamer says in an attempt to console him is always at a remove from the case as it really is. But with a mourner's perversity he continues each time (except the last) to hug the reality to himself. Rather than explain directly to the Dreamer why his effort at consolation is going astray, the Knight prefers, in the form of a mysterious chant, to insist on his own emotional isolation.

While the Knight's repeated couplet can be understood in psychological terms, it is more difficult to decide on Chaucer's purpose in giving it such a striking formal characteristic. Since it is repeated exactly, it has the nature of a refrain. Like any refrain, its tone changes by being repeated: for while the first time the Knight sounds simply as if he were contradicting the Dreamer, subsequently the very fact that the remark is being repeated gives it greater force and solemnity - even profundity. Very like the thirteenth-century French refrain, however, it is not only a repeated phrase, but a phrase which gains, in the repetition, an autonomous character.

When the Knight utters the couplet for the third time he specifically draws attention to the fact that he has said it before. The Dreamer asks where Blanche is now: the Knight is first struck dumb, then exclaims in a final paroxysm of admission that this was "the los" of which he had earlier spoken. He reminds the Dreamer of his exact phrase:

Bethenke how I seyde here-beforn,
"Thow wost ful lytel what thow menest;
I have lost more than thow wenest" -
God wot, allass! ryght that was she! (1304-07)

He treats the phrase like an epigram or motto: something which had a hidden meaning, but which he is now going to unlock. The fact that he draws attention to it is of interest in itself: it is a sign, first of all, that the repetition must be taken seriously, precisely because the Knight is taking it seriously. In addition, it is another indication of the Knight's preoccupation with his own choice of language. As a character, he is clearly repeating himself quite consciously.
It is interesting, too, how the refrain, by standing out almost formally as a regular repetition within the narrative, acts as a reminder of the Knight’s ‘compleynte’, which is itself distinguished formally from the narrative (aabbaccccd). Similarly, in the way it drives home the fact that the Dreamer has failed to grasp the real reason for the Knight’s distress, it also recalls his initial failure to comprehend the plain meaning of the ‘compleynte’. For, ironically, the key to the riddle had already been given.

As far as possible, the Dreamer and the Knight meet each other in a setting, helped by the dream framework, which is socially neutral. It is one which is indeed "studiously remote from everyday reality"; not, however, in order to comply with social pressures, but in order to avoid them. This is not to imply that Chaucer abandons social niceties altogether in this scene. Heavily reliant as it is upon Machaut, the encounter in the Book of the Duchess retains many aspects of the French sense of an overall controlling decorum. But it is a decorum which invites the expression of feeling, rather than wards it off.

Our discussion of the relation of the Book of the Duchess to its French sources helps us to see that some, at any rate, of the moments of greatest critical controversy are a sign of the strain under which Chaucer is putting the poem. We might define his difficulty - or more positively, his gamble - as that consequent on his re-interpretation of the finely defined social conditions under which the dits successfully operate. Given the difference in his subject-matter - the death rather than the pursuit of a lady - if he adopted the French poets’ own attitude towards consolation, he would find their careful control of artifice turning in his hands to triteness.

It might be argued that this is indeed the fate of the Knight’s ‘compleynte’. However, I have tried to show that the very lack of response to the meaning of the song is of a piece with the way in which, at crucial moments, the poem has nothing to say about death. Chaucer risks gaucheness in order to avoid superficiality. He attempts this by the radical move of eschewing the public manner characteristic of previous elegies in French. Yet this exposes him to the difficulty of having to translate the decorum.
appropriate to the pursuit of love in a French dit, to that appropriate to mourning. The
effort to console someone suffering from love has to be changed into an effort to console
someone suffering from a bereavement.

From this point of view, the lyric serves as a key point of connection between the
Book of the Duchess and its French sources, because in each it is used to effect the
process of consolation. Machaut and Froissart use lyric to provide a way of coming to
terms with feeling, whilst in the Book of the Duchess, Chaucer shows through the Knight's
'compleynte' just how difficult it is to come to terms with these particular feelings. The
effect of song in Machaut and Froissart is to divert pain, rather than to express it
directly. As Stevens puts it, they recognize a "need to adopt the conventional pose as
lover, while at the same time avoiding...actual entanglement."66 It is a mark of their
poetic tact that they take this need seriously. It is a mark of Chaucer's tact that he
does not.
CHAPTER FIVE

Song in the sources of Troilus and Criseyde

French dits amoureux are nowhere so clear and sustained an influence upon Chaucer as in his Book of the Duchess. On the face of it, even Troilus and Criseyde, Chaucer's greatest love poem, is indebted not so much to French poetry as to the Italian of Boccaccio's Il Filostrato. Recent studies have shown how closely Chaucer worked with Boccaccio's language, and have thus corrected the former view that Chaucer needed a French crib to help him with the Italian. In fact, his "knowledge of Italian was... extraordinarily good." And yet, whereas the Book of the Duchess, for all its close verbal relation to the dits, exhibits some signs of difficulty in appropriating them for the subject of elegy, Troilus, by being explicitly and centrally concerned with love, is naturally more attuned to the perspective of the dits. It seems an obvious poem, in short, in which to expect Chaucer's French reading to come to full fruition.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find respects in which Troilus demonstrates a closer alignment to French poetic practice than even the Book of the Duchess. Notably, the large number of lyric set-pieces worked into its structure shows none of the ambiguity with which the two short songs are presented in the Book of the Duchess. These French aspects of Troilus have not gone unnoticed, either in larger matters of style, as discussed by Muscatine, or in terms of its lyric element, pointed out by Robbins and very recently by Wimsatt. Nonetheless, they are arguments which face the charge that they deal with a relatively minor aspect of the poem. To whatever extent the French qualities of Troilus have been acknowledged, set beside the poem's evidently very large, as well as detailed, debt to Boccaccio, they seem of only limited importance to the poem as a whole. Troilus's French features seem to be just one part of Chaucer's general attempt to amplify Boccaccio; not necessarily to be symptomatic of a pervasively French approach in the poem.

It will be my concern in this chapter, however, to tackle the French issue in Troilus on a broader front. I will be considering how Boccaccio, as a poet working in the Angevin
court at Naples, is himself very much aware of French poetic traditions, and that - to a certain extent - the _Filostrato_ appropriates them. Also, in considering the third major influence upon _Troilus_ - Boethius's _Consolation of Philosophy_ - I will be emphasising that from Chaucer's point of view, Boethius was not only a medieval Latin philosopher, but a figure who had been thoroughly absorbed into French love culture. What in particular connects all these major influences upon _Troilus_ is a feature which has previously tended to be seen as incidental to each. For all three sources, French, Italian, and Latin, mix song and narrative.

Moreover, the use of song in these sources is interrelated. Just as the _Consolation_ provided an important impetus to French poetic practice (especially in the fourteenth century), so the French tradition in turn influenced Boccaccio. It would be a mistake, then, to see the influence of Boccaccio and Boethius on Chaucer as entirely distinct from French influence. From Chaucer's point of view, his Italian and Latin sources were thoroughly assimilable with his own interests in French love narratives.

First, however, it is necessary to establish a firm ground for understanding in what way Chaucer's poem blends song and narrative. There is an evident difficulty in defining the lyric pieces when they are distinguished neither metrically nor by rhyme from the narrative. For this, I suggest, we have an interesting guide in the scribes of the _Troilus_ manuscripts.

I The fifteenth-century scribal view of _Troilus_

With the exception of Payne, and recently Wimsatt, modern scholars have taken only an incidental interest in the lyric set-pieces contained in _Troilus_. It is remarkable to find, therefore, that some of the earliest recorded responses to the poem, written by its fifteenth-century scribes, reveal a considerable interest in the poem's set-pieces. Modern readers of _Troilus_ are familiar with the rubrics written by the scribes of the Corpus Christi manuscript through the practice of modern editors of including them. These consist not only of the Latin headings of books and poems, but also of five further
headings: ‘Cantus Troili’ at I, 400, III, 1744 and V, 638, ‘Litera Troili’ at V, 1317 and ‘Litera Criseydis’ at V, 1590.5 However, looking through the scribal marginalia across all the other manuscripts, usefully printed for the first time (though only selectively) by Windeatt, we find many more rubrics, varying from succinct Latin titles to more verbose comments and glosses in English.6 Together, they succeed in emphatically drawing the reader’s attention to the poem’s formal characteristics, from its large divisions into books to the numerous set-pieces of song, compleyn or rhetorical description.

The scribal view of Troilus as a compilation of formal lyric features is symptomatic of the almost obsessive preoccupation with lyric in fifteenth-century English poetic culture.7 For it is in the fifteenth century that the fullest imitation of the lyric manner of fourteenth-century French love poets took place. Works such as the ‘Chauceriana’ collected by Skeat not only borrow the French practice of interpolating lyric into narrative, but even include French refrains and mottos.8 It became common practice, as Robbins points out, to pillage longer court poems "for extrapolable stanzas for shorter lyrics or else for isolable lyrics complete in themselves."9 Troilus itself, as well as Chaucer’s Anelida and Arcite, was one of the most popular sources of theft.10 The first stanza of the ‘Cantus Troili’ of Book I, 400-06, reappears independently in five manuscripts, while, amongst many other examples, two love complaints in the Devonshire Manuscript each represent a composite rearrangement of several individual stanzas from Troilus. This practice is analogous to the thirteenth-century adaptation of refrains and rondeaux, both to form independent citations and to create new composite chansons and motets. It serves in itself as evidence of the way in which Troilus was regarded as a repository, not only of "courtly ‘conversation’",11 but specifically of lyric pieces.

Of course, it would be wrong simply to equate this fifteenth-century view of the poem with Chaucer’s own. Some of the manuscripts, such as the Selden Manuscript (S1) written c.1488 by the Scottish scribe James Gray, are over a century away from the poem (although Campsall, for instance, is considerably closer),12 and fifteenth-century infatuation with French lyric forms undoubtedly colours scribal perception of the poem. Nonetheless, it is significant that they found Troilus such a ready stimulus to their interests. And

172
considering the depth and range of Chaucer's own reading of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French poets, it is hardly surprising that fifteenth-century readers were able to find in *Troilus* grist for 'new' poems in the French manner.¹³ In any case, they constitute a valuable example in their own right of vernacular literary criticism, providing at least as pertinent a guide to the contemporary reception of one of the masterpieces of fourteenth-century English poetry as the scholastic Latin prologues and commentaries to which current historical criticism has alerted us.

The following discussion will concentrate primarily upon the manuscript rubrics, but also, by way of comparison, upon the kinds of passage which were extrapolated from *Troilus* to form separate lyrics, or pieces in a lyric anthology. All the manuscripts make some attempt to divide up the poem into books and proems, (although they do not always agree where these divisions occur), but the idea they give of the structure of the poem varies considerably in character. Some, such as the Corpus Christi manuscript, give only a brief outline, in which songs and letters nonetheless figure prominently; others offer a much fuller commentary, which registers a personal, and often thoughtful response to the poem, as well as a desire to mark out its rhetorical features. The largest source of marginalia comes from five manuscripts in particular: two fifteenth-century Harley manuscripts (H4 and H5), the Rawlinson manuscript (R), in four fifteenth-century hands, and the two Arch. Selden manuscripts (S1, dated c.1488 and S2, dated 1441). For convenience, I will use these sigla in referring to their scribes.

The description 'song' or 'cantus' is given in nearly all the manuscripts to four sections of *Troilus*: the song of Troilus in Book I, based on a Petrarchan sonnet (I, 400-20), Antigone's song in Book II (827-75), Troilus's song at the end of Book III (1744-71) based on a Boethian *metrum*, and his single stanza song in Book V "O sterre, of which I lost have al the light" (638-44). As we have already noted, the 'Canticus Troili' of Book I enjoyed an independent popularity in the fifteenth century. One late manuscript, the Bannatyne, includes not only the three stanzas of the song, but the two subsequent stanzas as well, in which Troilus continues (by returning to Troiolo's speech in *Il Filostrato*)
with an address to the "god of love" (421-34). This choice of extract registers the way in which these five stanzas as a whole (and not just the three-stanza song) form a set-piece framed within the narrative.

Antigone's song was also anthologised, but not as a whole. A love letter in nine rhyme royal stanzas takes three stanzas from it (841-47, 869-82), and a love complaint takes one (855-61). This use of material from a song for a letter finds interesting corroboration in the way in which the only other scribal uses of the term 'cantus' in the Troilus manuscripts are applied to letters. The scribes are assiduous in marking out the letters in Troilus. Between them, they give titles to five altogether: to Oenone's letter described by Pandarus in Book I (659-65), to the two fully quoted letters in Book V (1317-1421 and 1590-1631) by Troilus and Criseyde respectively, and also to their first letters to each other in Book II (1065-85 and 1219-25) which Chaucer (unlike Boccaccio) summarises in the third person, rather than quotes directly.

The scribes usually mark not only the start but also the end of the letters, by finishing them either with a French-style signature ("Le vostre T[roilus]" Cp, J, Th, S1, V, 1421 and "La vostre C[riseide]" D, H, Th, S2, V, 1631) or, as in H4, by the rubric "Finis littere Troili... Finis littere Cress". In this way, they make the letters stand out in the narrative as formally distinct. They respond as readily to a description of a letter, as to a quoted letter. For no fewer than seven scribes note the summary of Troilus's letter, and S1 even marks out the end of the three-stanza description by writing "Her endes Troylus his first lettyr" (II, 1085). Criseyde's letter takes only one stanza to summarise so it is not surprising that fewer scribes think it worth recording, namely H5, S1 and R. But it shows that the scribes did not only comment on the quoted set-pieces, but also upon any reference to a known form or type. It implies, too, that S1, at least, viewed the three-stanza summary of Troilus's letter as a set-piece in its own right.

However, in addition, in two cases, a scribe gives a letter the title of "cantus". The first of these occurs at I, 659 where Pandarus quotes to Troilus the letter written by Oenone to Paris "of hir heuynesse". Three scribes comment here in the margin. The scribe
in R explains "How Pandar told Troylus the sorowe of Oenonee"; S2 writes "littera Oenonee", but S1 writes "Cantus Oenonee". They are probably responding separately to Pandarus's own double terminology in the narrative. He explains to Troilus:

I woot wel that it fareth thus by me
As to thi brother, Paris, an herdasse,
Which that i-cleped was Oenone,
Wrote in a compleynte of hir heuynesse;
Jee say the lettre that she wrote, I gesse ? (I, 652-56)

For Pandarus, Oenone's letter is as much a "compleynte" as a "lettre". Similarly, while most of the scribes refer to Troilus's letter to Criseyde in Book V, 1317-1421 as "Litera Troilli", S2 describes it as "Cantus Troyli versus Criseide". There are sure signs here that the scribes (along with Chaucer himself) saw "littera", "cantus" and "compleynte" as closely related formal types.

This should come as no surprise. The way in which the majority of the Troilus scribes, if they include no other rubrics, always give titles to the letters in the poem as well as to the songs, shows that they regarded them as formal types of equivalent importance. But more significantly, as we saw in earlier chapters, letters are commonly found in the French romans which contain songs. Renart le Nouvel and Le Roman du Castelain de Couci are two thirteenth-century examples, while in the fourteenth century, there are letters in La Dame a la Lycorne, Machaut's Voir Dit, and Froissart's La Prison Amoureuse. In the French manuscripts, the letters are written out fully in prose, and distinguished from the narrative in a similar way to the songs, with a coloured initial and often (as in Renart le Nouvel BN f.fr.1581) with a marginal rubric ("lettre") in red. We can see a residue of this in the rubrics of the Troilus scribes, and particularly in the French signature with which Chaucer's letters conclude.

Furthermore, the complaint, the song and the letter have a considerable history of interdependence. The complaint has tended to be expressed as a genre in a range of forms (and in a range of literatures), rather than as a formal type per se. Thus in its history it has encompassed Old Testament Psalmic lament and the Latin planctus, as well as the French complaînte. But in Ovid's Heroides, for example (from which Chaucer probably
derives Oenone's lament), the complaint takes the form of a letter. And by the fourteenth century, in France, as we can see from Machaut's *Remède de Fortune*, it had become one of the distinct lyric forms, both musically and poetically. It was not as popular among vernacular lyric genres as the *rondeau* or the *ballade* (Deschamps does not mention the *complainte* at all in his *L'Art de Dictier*), but it is important to recognize that within the French *dits*, especially; it was a distinct song type, rather than simply a long, stylised speech. In relation to *Troilus*, then, the scribal equivalence of "cantus" and "litera", alongside Chaucer's own use of the word "compleynte", though a tiny detail, alerts us to the way in which the presence of songs, letters and "compleyntes" in *Troilus* relates Chaucer's poem to a well-established French practice.

In fact, there are only a few occasions in *Troilus* in which the scribes mark out the "compleyntes" formally. These include the first "compleynte" of Criseyde in Book IV (742-98), where several scribes write "Lamentacio C"; a "compleynt" by Troilus in Book IV (260-336) where SI writes "Her maketh Troylus his compleynt upon fortune"; and another by Troilus in Book V (1674-1722) where again it is SI who notes "Nota bene de Troily how he complenit". Chaucer himself, however, is very much more consistent in his use of the term:

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Thise wordes, and ful many an other to,
He spak, and called euere in his compleynte
Hire name... (I, 540-42)

And thus she spak, sobbing in hire compleynte... (IV, 742)
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The scribes often respond to Chaucer's own mention of "compleynte" in the narrative, but more often, especially in the case of R, with a narrative gloss rather than a rubric heading. Thus of the passage in Book II (523-39) where Pandarus states of Troilus "Right thus to loue he gan hym forto pleyne", the scribe in R writes "How Pandar tolde Crisseide that Troilus pleind to loue". R comments in a similar manner on the two passages in Book III where Troilus and Criseyde curse the day's arrival since it signals the end of their night of love (1422-42 and 1450-70). In neither case does he actually use the term "aubade", but each time his comment acts as a definition of one: "How Cresseyde sorowed
whan day gan for tapproche" (1422) and "How Troylus cursyd the day also bycause it com to sone" (1450). The Rawlinson scribe is in general more verbose than the scribes of the other manuscripts: at the same time, even where he does not provide a straightforward identification of a passage, he shows himself alert to its theme and character.

Only one other passage in Troilus is given a specific title by any of the scribes. This is the passage in Book V where Troilus explains to Pandarus that he wishes to die, and has made his will (295-322). The R, S1 and S2 scribes label this five-stanza speech "The Testament of Troylus" / "Testamentum Troili". Once again, this is indicative of fifteenth-century interests in general. Henryson, for instance, in his Testament of Cresseid, chooses to make this particular set-piece the focus of his own treatment of the Trojan story. He concentrates on the notion of legacy in two respects: first, in terms of the kind of shifting legacy accrued by a character (such as Criseyde) through repeated poetic treatment, and second, of the legacy, ambivalent in its consequences, left by one poet to another. The sophisticated poem that results is a further witness to the kind of impetus given by the lyric set-pieces in Troilus to fifteenth-century poets.

We have been able to see, with the help of the scribal rubrics, that Troilus is scattered throughout with numerous distinct lyric passages belonging to specific lyric genres: cantus, littera, "compleynte", "testament" and aubade. While Chaucer makes none of these passages metrically or formally distinct from the narrative (with the possible exception of the letters in Book V), it is important to observe that the rhyme royal stanza which he uses in Troilus is itself a lyric stanza, the stanza form most commonly used in the French ballade. In this way, Chaucer makes a small but significant step towards casting Il Filostrato in a French idiom. The link between Chaucer’s rhyme royal stanza and the ballade stanza form is even noticed, once more, by a scribe. At Book IV, 491, where six stanzas are missing in the Corpus Christi manuscript, the scribe’s note in the margin reads "deficuit vi balettes". By using a lyric stanza as the medium of his narrative poem, Chaucer provides a natural basis for the shift between narrative and lyric constantly being effected throughout Troilus.

The fifteenth-century scribal analysis of Troilus alerts us to the presence of
distinct lyric set-pieces within the poem; in addition it provides a terminology which demonstrates a clearer grasp of the identity of these pieces than that often shown by modern readers of Troilus. Payne, for instance, one of the first scholars to discuss the lyric interpolations in Troilus in any detail, defines "a clearly lyric quality" as "partly measured by the concentration of tropes" (p.185). He states this in the context of noting, with justice, the close association of lyric with apostrophe, especially in relation to the complaint. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, for instance, in the long section in his Poetria Nova devoted to apostrophe, includes a complaint on the death of Richard Coeur-de-Lion as one of his examples.²¹ Yet the point is not that apostrophe is equivalent to lyric, but that lyric may well take the form of apostrophe. To identify a trope, or even a large number of tropes, is not necessarily to identify a lyric, even if the analysis of lyrics tends to reveal a high incidence of rhetorical figures.

In fact, Payne's own enumeration of the lyric passages in Troilus does not rely entirely on the principle that they are the most rhetorically elaborate sections of the poem. Seen through scribal eyes, his choice of lyric examples is conservative, and indeed, paradoxically, omits most of the complaints. Wimsatt, on the other hand, takes up this principle very thoroughly, so that according to his analysis, the poem contains no fewer than fifty-six "developed lyric passages", which include nearly every apostrophe, invocation, authorial aside and piece of sententious comment in the entire work.²²

The scribes, however, make a distinction between those parts of Troilus which are songs or letters and those which are examples of rhetorical elaboration. When they comment on a rhetorical feature, their terms are quite exact, such as "Comendacio" (applied to the first description of Criseyde at I, 99ff.), "Inuocacoun" (applied to Chaucer's invocation of Cleo at II, 8) and "Dyscripsioun" (applied by R to each of the passages in Book V which successively describe Diomede, Criseyde and Troilus). For them, an invocation is quite clearly not a cantus or a littera.

Thus while Wimsatt is right to point out the 'set-piece' character of many passages throughout Troilus (confirmed by the way in which some of the more sententious speeches
were themselves anthologized in the fifteenth century), to describe every one of them as "lyrical" is to risk debasing the term.\textsuperscript{23} It is true that the distinction between lyric and narrative became blurred as early as the \textit{Roman de la Rose}, by Guillaume de Lorris's far-reaching innovation of casting the lyric "I" of twelfth-century troubadour poetry into the autobiographical "I" of a love narrative.\textsuperscript{24} In a fundamental sense, then, the subject matter of lyric became the subject matter of narrative. Nonetheless, as we have seen, there was a separate tradition of enclosing lyric within long narrative poems, in which, granted the deep influence of the \textit{Roman de la Rose}, a distinction between lyric and narrative was maintained. Thus while a great deal of \textit{Troilus} might be described as "lyrical" in a general sense, in that it derives from the tradition of love narrative inspired by the \textit{Roman de la Rose}, the scribes help us to see that \textit{Troilus} - like the dits by Machaut and Froissart - also contains specific lyric pieces (including letters and complaints) which are unambiguously distinct from other passages of heightened rhetoric.

In a sense, the scribes simplify the matter: the question of what is "lyrical" does not trouble them as it tends to trouble a critic writing in the post-Romantic era. For them the songs are easy to identify, as are the compleyntes, aubades, the testament, and the passages of "descripsioun" and "inuocacoun".

II Boccaccio and the Court of Naples

It has not always been recognized that \textit{Troilus and Criseyde} is full of lyric set-pieces. Indeed, in comparison with \textit{Il Filostrato}, the point is usually made that Chaucer's poem is less rather than more "lyrical" than Boccaccio’s. This debate has recently been re-opened by Wimsatt, who takes issue with Burrow’s view that \textit{Troilus and Criseyde} is "above all, an incomparably vivid and authentic narrative poem".\textsuperscript{25} For Burrow, it is the \textit{Filostrato}, not \textit{Troilus}, which has a lyric bias, because of the way it "suggests a bold and novel subordination of ‘antiche storie’ to the private business of the love lyric". He sees Chaucer as determined to redress this bias in Boccaccio in favour of the "storie".

Wimsatt argues, however, that the inclusion of songs in the \textit{Regret Guillaume}, the Dit
de la Panthère d'Amours and, above all, Machaut's Remède, contributes to a "lyricism" in Troilus which is "a major aspect" of the poem (p.30). We have already seen that the songs in the French dits are very important to Chaucer. However, in the case of Troilus, it is necessary to tackle Burrow's argument more directly by considering in detail how Chaucer handles examples of lyric in the Filostrato. We need to appreciate the circumstances in which Boccaccio wrote the Filostrato, and the specific influences which caused him to include songs in the first place. Having gained a more detailed grasp of the structure and tone of the Filostrato, we will then be in a better position to evaluate Chaucer's response to it fifty years later.

Boccaccio's four earliest works were all written at the Angevin court of Naples. He arrived there in 1327 at the age of fourteen, and by 1341, when he returned (unwillingly) to Florence, had written the Caccia di Diana (1334 ?), the Filostrato (1335 ?), the Filocolo (1336-38 ?) and the Teseida (1339-41 ?).26 He was writing in an environment which was very different from the mercantile climate of Florence. The Kingdom of Naples was a uniquely French part of Italy, having been acquired by Charles d'Anjou (who became Carlo I of Naples) in 1266, and retained by the Angevin family through his son Carlo II (1285-1309) and his grandson Robert the Wise (1309-43). Between them they created a court in which French, and to a lesser extent Provençal culture predominated.

The process of creating a French court in the midst of Italian city states was undertaken by Carlo I with some energy. All his leading officials were Provençal or French in origin. Despite its unpopularity with Italians and Sicilians, he insisted on French as the language of government.27 In addition, he brought over from France a group of celebrated poets and musicians, many of them from the Arras region, including Perrin d'Agincourt, Adam de la Halle, Rutebeuf and Raoul de Soissons. By this means, he founded an active and highly-powered literary environment, in which all the usual French displays of poetic skill took place in the form of prize-winning jeux partis, and the exchange of coblais. He himself composed both verse and music. The important collection of songs in the Chansonnier du Roi was thought by Beck to have been compiled c.1250 for Carlo I: it is now dated later, but still accredited to the Neapolitan court. It gives a substantial
indication of the range and extent of lyric interests in Naples, for it contains over 550 songs, which include some fifty troubadour songs, and sixty *chansons* by Thibaut.\(^{28}\)

Adam de la Halle came to Naples *c.*1283 with Robert II d’Artois, Carlo I’s uncle, who was coming to his nephew’s aid in the wake of the Sicilian Vespers. Adam’s dramatic work *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* was composed soon after his arrival. The use of names such as Peronelle, a stock character of the *pastourelle*, which remained in vogue in Neapolitan literary circles at least until Boccaccio (he names a character after her in his *Caccia di Diana*, and another in the *Decameron*) could testify not only to the popularity of the *pastourelle*, but perhaps even to *Robin et Marion* itself.\(^{29}\) This geographical coincidence which brought both Adam de la Halle and Boccaccio to Naples is fascinating: it implies, first of all, that Boccaccio was exposed at Naples not only to French lyric poetry and music, but also to a culture familiar with the characteristically Arrageois practice of interpolating songs into a pastoral setting. Secondly, it demonstrates a latent but intriguing connection between Boccaccio and Chaucer. For both poets, one through northern French poets such as Froissart and Machaut, and the other through the cultural accident provided by Naples, could thus have encountered the same French tradition of enclosing song within narrative which we have been tracing from *Guillaume de Dole*.

A third connection between Naples and this French tradition - though this time not directly to do with either Boccaccio or Chaucer - concerns the acclaimed minstrel Adenet le Roi. In 1270 he crossed Italy and Sicily (at this time also under Angevin rule) in the company of Guido di Dampierre who was on his way to the Tunisian crusade. Adenet’s knowledge of Naples appears in *Cleomadés* which, as we noted in chapter 2, contains seven *rondeaux*; his further influence in Italy is demonstrated by the fact that one of his *Chansons de geste, l’Enfances Renier*, became widely known throughout Southern Italy and Sicily.\(^{30}\)

Such details of interaction between the court at Naples and French poets of importance are in fact numerous. For instance, we can continue to trace an Arrageois association into the fourteenth century with the presence in Carlo II’s court in 1302 of
Nevelon Amiot, whose *Vers d’Amour* contains French refrains. More notably, Carlo I was a patron (when still in France) of Jean de Meun, who refers to him and to Naples in the *Roman de la Rose*.

By Robert’s reign, the Angevin library was considerable; yet he took pains to enlarge it further. His own interests lay particularly in medical and theological books: but the library was also well equipped with Classical, and vernacular Italian and French texts. Boccaccio’s reading was very wide: yet as Branca emphasises, his four early works all show the marked influence of French romance, an influence which he would have received as much from his everyday association with Neapolitan aristocrats as from literary sources. As Branca puts it, "non a caso il Boccaccio con estrema naturalezza immagina che la sua Fiammetta si diletti di ‘avere letti li franceschi romanzi’ (Fiammetta, VIII, 7, 1), e non a caso le sue prime opere narrative sono tessute sulle filigrane del *Floire et Blancheflor*, del *Roman de Troie*, del *Roman de Thèbes*" (Profilo biografico, p.38). In addition to these French sources for the *Filocolo*, the *Filostrato* and the *Teseida* respectively, David Wallace has pointed out that parallels exist between the *Caccia di Diana* and closely contemporary French hunting poems, such as Jehan Acart de Hesdin’s *Prise amoureuse* and Raimon Vidal’s *Chasse aux médisants*.

Although Boccaccio’s *Caccia* does not contain lyrics itself (it is in eighteen cantos of terza rima), Boccaccio shows a pervasive interest in mixing song and narrative throughout his subsequent poetic career. The distinction between song and narrative becomes sharper from work to work. Although the *Filostrato* contains songs which are clearly announced as such by the narrator, like *Troilus*, no metrical or formal distinction is made between song and narrative, which is written in ottava rima. Summarising sonnets preface each book of the *Teseida*, yet as Wallace colourfully puts it: "These sonnets hardly merit consideration as verse: they stand like jam-jars into which content has been poured" (p.76). More considered experimentation with lyric forms and narrative occurs in his *Comedia delle Ninfe* (written just after his return to Florence in 1341-42) which is in prose with inset poems in terza rima. In the *Decameron*, too, not only does each giornata conclude with a song, but Boccaccio experiments widely with rhyme in the prose.
narratives.\textsuperscript{36}

It would be incorrect to describe Boccaccio's interest in mixing lyric meters and prose (or verse) narrative solely to French influences. Other important models for him were Dante's \textit{Vita Nuova} and the \textit{prosimetrum} tradition of Boethius, Martianus Capella, Bernardus Silvestris and Alain de Lille. In addition, in his later works, Boccaccio turns from a Neapolitan to a Florentine style and tone, re-immersing himself in native Italian sources which he had never really put aside. Yet while these Latin models have been readily acknowledged, less emphasis has been placed on French precedent in this specific respect than the situation actually deserves. Seen from a broadly European standpoint, Boccaccio's poetic development presents a significant Italian parallel to interests in combining genres both in the French love narrative and in Chaucer's love poetry.

To consider now the \textit{Filostrato} in particular, the main lyric influences upon Boccaccio during its composition were various. I have been stressing the availability of French (and also Provençal) \textit{grands chants} to Boccaccio in the Neapolitan court; and, in addition, that the court was familiar with certain examples of French \textit{romans à chansons}. However, the \textit{Filostrato} also reveals debts to two very different Italian traditions of lyricism: the \textit{dolce stil nuovo} of Dante, Cino da Pistoia and Petrarch, and the \textit{cantare} narratives. The \textit{cantare} verse form, \textit{ottava rima}, demonstrates in itself the stylistic ambivalence of the poem. For on the one hand, \textit{ottava rima} was used profusely by the \textit{canterini}; yet on the other, as Roncaglia argues, it bears close resemblance to several \textit{trouvère} strophic forms, including one of the songs quoted in the \textit{Roman du Castelain de Couci}, a work which Roncaglia suggests that Boccaccio may even have known.\textsuperscript{37} Whether or not we accept this argument in detail, the resemblance is close enough to make it plausible that Boccaccio (like Chaucer) consciously exploited the form as a convenient means of transition between lyric and narrative. It would be misleading, in any case, to consider \textit{ottava rima} as the exclusive preserve of narrative poetry. Used as it was by the \textit{canterini}, it is analogous in the ambivalence of its function to the tail-rhyme employed by English metrical romancers, which is after all the form of several of the Harley Lyrics.\textsuperscript{38}
The *cantare* narratives, centred in Tuscany, were popular throughout Italy during this period. Like some of the English romances, they provided non-courtly versions of courtly French romance. At the same time, like the English ballad, the *cantare* were undoubtedly sung (although unfortunately no music has survived): according to Branca they were composed in order to be performed in public piazzas. Their lyric mode was, nonetheless, very different from that used by the French or Italian high stylists.

A classic example of this is discussed by Wallace, in his comparison of *La Chastelaine de Vergi* with its *cantare* version, *La Donna del Vergiù* (a work apparently known to Boccaccio). As we saw in chapter 3, one of the high points stylistically of the French work is the author's quotation from a *chanson* by the Châtelain de Couci "A vos, amant, plus k'a nule autre gent" (295-302). As Whitehead points out, the subtlety of the poet partly lies in his ability to conceal potentially farcical elements in the plot: otherwise "the work would have been very different - a rapidly moving story of intrigue with an ending which nothing could have kept from appearing exaggerated and factitious" (p.xiii). By recasting the French into the popular, fast-moving verse-form of *ottava rima*, the Italian *canterino* achieves just this effect of hapless exaggeration:

```italian
Quivi chi v'era grande strida mise
vedendo morti amendue costoro,
salvo che la duchessa che sen rise.
El duca si mugghiava com'un toro
e raccontava si come s'uccise
Piramo e Tisbe alla fonte del moro;
e dicen tutti: "Per simile crimine
mori Francesca con Pagol da Rimine."
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In the hands of the *canterini*, the elevated style of the French *grand chant*, and of courtly romance altogether, tended to be dissipated out of recognition. Boccaccio's *Filostrato* shows signs of a similar tendency: both Branca, and more recently Wallace, illustrate the ways in which Boccaccio takes from the *cantare* style its brisk narrative manner, its staginess and inflatedness, its numerous affective epithets and stylistic tags. Yet at the same time, by providing Boccaccio with a ready access to a wide range of French romances, the *cantari* also gave him the opportunity to re-invest the style with a measure of French seriousness, and with elements of internal debate, a feature of lyric
which he also derived from Dante and Cino.

In particular, he took advantage of the French basis of the Trojan story to include songs in the manner of the *Chastelaine de Vergi*, a French trait over which, as we have just seen, a *canterino* might have ridden rough-shod. The *ottava rima* stanza of the *Filostrato*, in short, hovers between two kinds of lyric poetry: one rapid and oral in manner, the other dignified, reflective, and analytic. It is a stylistic hybrid: a sentimental effusion, on the one hand highly affected by French romance and, on the other, interspersed with fragments of elevated style from the French *grands chants*, Dante, Cino, and Petrarch.

Seen in this light, the contrast usually drawn between the *Filostrato* and *Troilus*, such as that made by Burrow, appears to be overdrawn. Wallace has argued persuasively for a wider, European perspective upon Boccaccio and Chaucer which recognizes that the two poets were tackling very similar problems of cultural enterprise. They did, of course, tackle them with very different results: any account of their poetic relationship would need to acknowledge this. But since the differences have been stressed, especially by Chaucerians, far more frequently than the similarities, it may be salutary instead to consider what they have in common.

One important example concerns the common French derivation of much of their poetry. For this reason, it is significant that Chaucer makes use only of the early works of Boccaccio, those, in other words, written at a French court. I have argued, with special reference to the *Filostrato*, that there is reason to understand Boccaccio’s decision to include songs as itself French-inspired - at least in part. In addition, I have wished to draw attention to the complexity of influence upon the *Filostrato* in its relation to low as well as to high styles. The variety of lyric styles is reflected in the range of sources for his songs and set-pieces; and as we shall see, this too is emulated by Chaucer.

In taking account of Boccaccio’s Italian sources for his lyric interludes in the *Filostrato*, we need, moreover, to recognize that the *Filostrato* is much further from the *Vita Nuova* than it is from a French romance such as *La Chastelaine de Vergi*. For
although, as a narrowly-based source study would indicate, Boccaccio's allusions to Dante and to Cino and Petrarch are numerous (see below), his manner both in treating a French romance in the first place, and in casting himself in a first-person relation to the story, is wholly Angevin in derivation.

Branca has described Boccaccio's achievement in the *Filostrato* as the ability to find "una voce tutta sua, particolarmente suggestiva, nell'oblioso canto delle goie d'amore e negli abbandonati lamenti e rimpianti" (p.43). Burrow, too, has stressed that Boccaccio's "subordination of 'antiche storie' to the private business of the love lyric" is a "bold and novel" step. Yet while there is indeed something unique about the rapprochement in Boccaccio's poetry between French courtliness, eagerly assimilated, and bourgeois Italian sophistication (at the same time proudly adhered to), an early poem such as the *Filostrato* is not as isolated as it may at first appear. While the relationship between romance and song is not as formally conscious as contemporary developments in France (by Nicole de Margival or Jehan Acart de Hesdin, or a little later, by Machaut), it does resemble works from the thirteenth century such as *Guillaume de Dole* or the *Roman de la Violette* in which the romance element has not yet given way to autobiographical love narrative.

It is unlikely that Boccaccio knew either of these *romans* directly. Indirectly, however, his encounter with the *cantare* version of *La Chastelaine de Vergi* brings him into faint contact with the *Roman de la Violette*, since details from the latter recur in the *Chastelaine*. On the other hand, "quella nuova letteratura vagamente allegorico-didattica", represented by followers of the *Fiore* and the *Roman de la Rose*, was "quasi ignorata a Napoli" (Branca, p.58). The *Filostrato* could thus be regarded not so much as a novelty as the natural product of a young poet's voguish handling of a by now archaic French practice: *Guillaume de Dole* given the intensity of a first-person narration.

The result, at times, can be uncannily like a *dit amoureux*. We can see this most clearly in the prose Prologue and the Epilogue in Book IX which frame the entire story, and also in the ways in which Boccaccio frames individual songs. The practice ofprefacing a love narrative with an address to the poet's lady is common among thirteenth-
and early fourteenth-century French works containing songs such as the Roman de la Poire, the Prise Amoureuse and the Dit de la Panthère d’Amours. In the latter, for instance, there is a forty-line introduction in which the poet announces that he is writing the work for his lady, but is too bashful to give it to her directly. Instead he hopes that his friends will pass it on to her once they have read it.

The dit closes with a similar reference to the lady in the form of an indirect plea for mercy. In this way the poem is intended to act as a love-offering, in which the dream is a veiled expression of the poet’s hopes. Boccaccio takes on this device with an eagerness which is rarely matched in a French dit, and much of his language is taken from the Vita Nuova. Nonetheless, the pose which he adopts uses French mannerisms as a starting point for its fulsome declarations. Thus the very first words he uses to describe himself are based on one of the clichés of self-presentation used by French love-poets:

Molte fiate già, nobilissima donna, avvenne che io, il quale quasi dalla mia puerizia infino a questo tempo ne’servigi d’Amore sono stato, ritrovandomi nella sua corte intra i gentili uomini e le vaghe donne... (p.77)

He follows this with a discussion of a typical demande d’amour (characteristic of the French jeu-parti): is it better for a young man to be able to see his lady from time to time, to talk about her to someone else, ‘or to think about her pleasantly by himself’? Boccaccio was clearly enamoured of this device since a number of such demandes are also debated by the company in the Filocolo over whom Fiammetta presides (see Filocolo, IV, 15-72). Later references, especially to his own role as a poet-lover, provide more parallels with French dits:

E similmente le mie voci, le quali già alcuna volta mosse, non so da che occulta letizia procedente dal vostro sereno aspetto, in amorosi canti e in ragionamenti pieni di focoso amore...o la morte per fine de’ miei dolori, o in grandissimi ramarichii permutate possono essere sute udite da chi m’è presso. (p.78)

This movement between love-song and complaint is one of the most characteristic features of dits by Machaut and Froissart: the poet-lover is constantly veering from one to the other. Boccaccio goes on to describe his whole work as “alcuno onesto ramarichio” (“some dignified form of complaint”); much in the same way as Nicole de Margival, he hopes
by this means to convey his feelings to his lady. Furthermore, like Machaut or Froissart, he hopes that the very process of turning his sorrow into verse will prove consoling: "mutai proposto e pensai di volere con alcuno onesto ramarichio dare luogo a quella e uscita del tristo petto" (p.79) ("and considered how through some dignified form of complaint I might provide the means for my grief-laden breast to be relieved of such sorrow" (p.23)). Indeed, he admits, "Li quali e una e altra volta cantando, assai gli ho utili trovati secondo che fu nel principio l'avviso." (p.79) ("And having recited them on one occasion or another I found them to be very helpful, as I had intended in the first place" (p.23)). It is in a similar vein that Froissart's narrator in Le Paradis d'Amour declares "Point n'avoie lors le coer triste" (868) after he has sung his first rondel. 48

Boccaccio's manner in framing the Trojan story is thus "lyrical" in a quite specific sense, for his proemio has the same function as the introduction to a French dit containing songs, itself an extension of the avowed purpose of a lyric to smooth the lover's path towards gaining his lady's affections. In addition, his ninth book has the same function as the congedo at the end of an Italian canzone, or the envoy of a French ballade. Thus he addresses his work as "canzon mia pietosa", and asks it to find his lady and beg her to show mercy.

By this means, Boccaccio confirms even further the lyric motive behind his romance: it is to be understood essentially as a canzone in which his own feelings are figured forth in the character of Troiolo. It is daring of him to make a romance so subservient to the function of lyric: yet in a sense, from the moment when Jean Renart first enclosed songs within Guillaume de Dole, the process was already incipient. The romance becomes an excuse for the lyrics: as we observed in chapter 2, sometimes even a single refrain could be made by a poet to have a large-scale significance in a romance of several thousand lines. Many of these thirteenth-century romans nonetheless retain their autonomy as works of narrative: by framing his romance so boldly with terms taken from lyric, Boccaccio shows a relative insouciance towards narrative interests per se which is closer to Machaut or Froissart (and very uncharacteristic of his later writings).

Since Troiolo is avowedly the narrator's mouthpiece, his speeches and songs often
reflect the narrator's remarks in the proemio and in the course of the story quite exactly. In this respect too, this makes Troiolo akin to the poet-lover personae of French dits. Take, for instance, the following introduction to the song he sings in Part V after Criseida's departure to the Greeks:

Per che gli piacque di mostrare in versi
chi ne fosse cagione, e sospirando,
quando era assai stanco di dolersi,
alcuna sosta quasi al dolor dando,
mentre aspettava nelli tempi avversi,
con bassa voce si giva cantando
e ricreando l'anima conquisa
dal soperchio d'amore, in cotal guisa: (V, 61)

This bears close comparison both with Boccaccio's description of himself in the proemio quoted earlier ("li quali e una e altra volta cantando, assai gli ho utili trovati secondo che fu nel principio l'avviso"), and the introduction to the complaintes in the Remède de Fortune and also Le Dit de la Fonteinne Amoureuse, where in each case, the poet turns from simply indulging his bitter feelings into expressing them in poetic form:

Mais, dame, einsois que je m'en voise
Long de vous...
Ferai de la dure dolour...
Une dolereuse complainte.
Et se Dieus me donne la grace
Que n'i mespreingne ne mefface
Et qu'elle soit a vostre gré,
Je seray en si haut degré
Que j'en vivrai plus liement,
Car vous sarez mon sentement.

(Fonteinne Amoureuse: 209-10, 211, 214-20)

These are the words of Machaut's patron, whose complainte the narrator overhears and transcribes. The patron is acting as a surrogate for the narrator's own feelings of sorrow about love, in the same way that Troiolo is acting as a surrogate for Boccaccio's narrator. The impetus for complaint in each case (the separation of the lovers) is also the same: although Troiolo himself is not intending here to give his song into Criseida's hands.

In addition, the circumstances in which Boccaccio causes Troiolo to compose songs are redolent of the settings for songs in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French romances and dits. They range in the Filostrato from songs sung in the company of Pandaro in a
wood or a garden, to more domestic settings, where Troiolo is presented as lamenting furiously in his private chamber. These may be compared with the settings in which the Emperor Conrad sings *grands chants* in *Guillaume de Dole*. At the end of a journey, for instance, Conrad and Guillaume go off alone together into the meadows and Conrad sings a stanza of the anonymous *chanson*: ‘Mout est fouls, que que nus die...’ (3107). On other occasions, Conrad seeks the refuge of his palace. Renart describes his returning there "toz seuls" and "mout angoisseus":

«Spirant, plorant et plains d'ire,
com de traïtor et felon
se plait es vers de sa chançon:
Por quel forfet ne por quel ochoison...
(3748-51)

Similarly Troiolo, having just heard the news that Criseida is to be exchanged for Antenor, returns all alone to his palace:

E verso il suo palagio se ne gio,
sanza ascoltare a volgersi ad alcuno. (IV, 22)

Here, he gives vent to the depths of his despair, sighing and weeping bitterly, and, like Conrad, "plaines d'ire", or as Boccaccio puts it, as enraged as a bull (IV, 26-29).

By appreciating the affinity of the *Filostrato* with French love poetry, we can begin to gain a clearer sense of the reasons for Chaucer's choice of the *Filostrato* as the source of his most ambitious work. At first sight, indeed, these reasons are difficult to perceive. The *Filostrato* is one of Boccaccio's earliest, most immature works; Boccaccio's later interests in classical authors are barely evident. For a more illustrious Italian model, Chaucer could easily have turned to Dante. Yet he not only chose the *Filostrato*, but also made extensive use of the *Teseida* and, to a lesser extent, the *Filocolo*: all three works from the earliest stage of Boccaccio's poetic career.

For Wallace, who makes the most detailed recent attempt at a large cross-cultural study of this question, the answer lies in the *Filostrato*'s half-way position between *poesia popolare* and *poesia d'arte* (p.105). Since, he argues, Chaucer's own narrative style was dependent upon popular English narrative (in the shape of the metrical romances), Chaucer found in Boccaccio a similar ambition to marry popular traditions with
more illustrious ones. While Wallace does justice in detail to Chaucer's often appreciative response to Boccaccio in close matters of translation, his larger summaries of Chaucer's view of the *Filostrato* tend to be dismissive: "The *Filostrato* provided Chaucer with an excellent story-line but had little to teach him as an opus" (p.49)... "It is at once apparent that it was the *Filostrato*'s simple virtues that were most to Chaucer's liking" (p.94).

It should be evident, however, from the preceding discussion of the elements of lyric in the *Filostrato* that the work, for all its relative immaturity, was more, structurally, than "an excellent story-line". While the *cantare* narratives were indeed an important influence, we have also seen that more elevated lyric styles (from both French and Italian sources) pervade the poem. Furthermore, to reiterate Burrow's point, one of Boccaccio's boldest achievements in the poem was precisely to subordinate the narrative to a lyric motive.

What is, perhaps, much more significant, is that the *Filostrato* (whether consciously or not) formed the closest Italian parallel to Chaucer's French reading. In particular, nearly every French work Chaucer had read had a formal structure based upon mixing narrative and song. From this point of view it is thus not surprising that he found the *Filostrato* attractive. In a way which sets it apart from anything by Dante or Petrarch, even the *Vita Nuova*, the *Filostrato* contains an exploration, within *French* terms, of the relation between song and narrative. It opened up the possibility for Chaucer of experimentation with the form of the extended love narrative: a kind of poetic experimentation which he had long observed to be a preoccupation among French writers.

Yet while it was no doubt the Angevin-inspired tone of the *Filostrato* which first drew Chaucer's attention to it, at the same time he might well have been attracted by its distance from works by Machaut and Froissart. By basing *Troilus* on an Italian poem, in which the connecting narrative places the lyrics within a romance rather than an allegory or a dream, Chaucer found a freedom to develop and expand upon the problem of his relation as a love poet to his subject-matter. This was certainly a problem present in the *dits*, but one explored within tight constraints. In short, just as the pagan features of the
Trojan story liberated his approach towards its philosophical and religious implications, so the Italian appropriation of French traits in the style and structure of the *Filostrato* liberated his approach towards problems of inherently French interest.

So far we have been able to agree with Burrow’s assessment of the *Filostrato*, if not altogether with Wallace’s. However, in relation to *Troilus*, Burrow goes on to assert that far from appreciating the lyric features of the Italian poem, Chaucer took pains to direct attention in his own work away from a lyric emphasis and back towards narrative. We need now to consider how Chaucer deals with the lyric passages, songs and complaints in the *Filostrato* to see whether he does indeed reduce their importance, or whether he preserves or even amplifies them.

Structural comparisons of the *Filostrato* with *Troilus* have been made by a succession of scholars from Young and Meech to the recent very detailed consideration of Chaucer as a translator by Wallace and Windeatt. However, with the exception of Payne, the songs in each work have escaped particular comparison: and even Payne, as we discussed earlier in the chapter, gives only a restricted view of the number of lyric passages in *Troilus*, without considering the *Filostrato* on its own terms. Nonetheless, his summary of the main changes made by Chaucer to the *Filostrato* succinctly demonstrates that they consist principally of areas of amplification rather than reduction, and that this includes the "series of songs, apostrophe, and invocations... interspersed at strategic points" (p.178).

Payne’s account is misleading in that it fails to emphasise that Boccaccio in the first place amplified the narrative considerably in this respect. The attention which has been paid to the cantare-like qualities of his narrative manner has obscured the fact that Boccaccio’s decision to halt and embellish the story-line with numerous songs, laments, letters and speeches is quite uncharacteristic of a canterino. In addition (much as a thirteenth-century romancier would interpolate a celebrated trouvère chanson) Boccaccio interpolates two songs by celebrated contemporary Italian love poets, Cino da Pistoia and Petrarch. Thus stanzas 62-66 in Part V of Troiolo’s song are closely modelled on stanzas...
1-2 and 4-5 of Cino’s canzone ‘La dolce vista e’l bel guardo soave’; while a little earlier Troiolo’s apostrophe to Criseida’s empty palace derives from Petrarch’s sonnet CXII ‘Sennuccio, i’ vo’ che sapi in qual maniera’. In general, however, Boccaccio’s practice is not so much to incorporate whole songs or stanzas from other poets, as to quote just a line or two. This is particularly the case with the Vita Nuova from which Boccaccio quotes single lines throughout Part IV.

To turn now to Chaucer’s treatment of Boccaccio’s lyric set-pieces, we find that while he rarely takes over a song or lament ‘verbatim’, on the other hand, he rarely cuts out any, unless it is to replace it with a song composed of material from another source, such as Boethius. Furthermore, while there are four such cases of direct substitution (the Cantici Troili in Books I, III and V, and the Boethian passage on predestination in Book IV), there are at least six cases where Chaucer adds a song not present in Boccaccio: Oenone’s compleynye in Book I, Antigone’s song in Book II, Troilus’s invocation to love in Book III, their three aubades, and a compleyne by Crisyede in Book IV (828-47). In addition, while Boccaccio has just two invocations at the start of Parts I and III, Chaucer expands the principle to include one at the start of four of his five Books. Even the songs and set-pieces which Chaucer does take over straight from Boccaccio - with the exception of the letters which he greatly abbreviates - he usually amplifies with some Boethian or Dantean touches.

From this summary we can see that Chaucer is doing a good deal more than "throwing in" the odd extra song "for good measure", as Burrow puts it (p.53). In fact, Chaucer not only "preserves much of Troiolo’s complaints", he observes all Boccaccio’s narrative cues for songs, and in addition, supplements them with several songs either of his own, or from other sources. This suggests that far from wishing to reduce Boccaccio’s lyric bias in the story, Chaucer is concerned to give it greater weight. Furthermore, a closer look (which will be given in the next chapter) at the kinds of lyric substitution and addition made by Chaucer suggests that even where Chaucer is turning away from Boccaccio in the content of a song, he is following Boccaccio’s structural method in broader terms.

There is thus some reason for thinking that Chaucer’s frequent addition of extra lyric
passages to *Troilus* was influenced to some degree by Boccaccio’s own practice of interpolating a wide range of lyric material from Jaufre Rudel to his own *Rime*. Yet it was not a practice which Chaucer had any need to learn from Boccaccio, since in the large range of French love poetry familiar to Chaucer, it had long since been a matter of course. Whatever put the idea into Chaucer’s mind, there is much to indicate in any case that interpolation was a fundamental aspect of Chaucer’s narrative method.

It is significant, for our purposes, that two of the three major interpolations of this kind are Boethian, and that one of them is a song: that sung by Troilus at the end of Book III (1744-71). As I shall now go on to discuss, when Chaucer turned away from Boccaccio’s choice of song, Boethius was his main alternative, along with Machaut. I shall be arguing that Chaucer’s use of Boethius as a source of lyric material strikingly parallels the structural influence of the *Consolation* upon the experimentation with mixed song and narrative structures carried out by his French contemporaries.

III Boethius: French translations of the *Consolation*

Chaucer’s philosophical and thematic debt to Boethius in *Troilus and Criseyde* hardly needs further substantiation. Yet modern interest in Boethius as an influence on medieval thought has perhaps overshadowed the importance of the *Consolation* to the mixed structure of several late medieval courtly narratives, of which *Troilus* is an example. The courtly appropriation of Boethius by French poets has already been of considerable interest in previous chapters. Here we shall consider more closely how the *Consolation* both contributed, and was itself subject to the French preoccupation with interpolated lyric in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: not only in the use that musician-poets such as Machaut made of Boethius, but also in the kind of treatment the *Consolation* received at the hands of French translators. The view of the *Consolation* we shall be exploring is undoubtedly remote from questions of philosophy; yet since it is the view taken by French poets and translators closely contemporary with Chaucer, it seems well worth taking into account.
The form of the *Consolation* has always excited interest. One of the work's earliest commentators, Servatus Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières (842-61), writes exclusively on the form of the *metra*, and his comments were used and revised in many subsequent Latin commentaries. The work was studied, in other words, not only for its philosophical and moral substance, but as a textbook example of verse and prose style. Respect was paid to its mixed form by its earliest translators as well as by its earliest scholarly readers. King Alfred's translation, for example, while it retains the prose as prose, renders the *metra* into formulaic alliterative verse. And, as Dwyer points out, while the first French translations in the thirteenth century were entirely in prose, their authors "recognized the value of Boethius's *metra* by repeating... the commentators' cliché that he was not only the equal of Cicero in prose but also of Virgil in verse" (p.68).

There is also evidence from the ninth century that the *metra* were regarded as having more than poetic interest. A ninth-century monastic musical collection at St. Martial de Limoges contains *metra* extracted from the *Consolation* and set to music alongside battle-songs, hymns, *planctus* and lyrics. In addition, the text of the *Consolation* in Bodley MS Auct.F.1.15 produced at St Augustine's, Canterbury c.1000, possesses musical notation for ten of the *metra*. The existence of musical notation for non-liturgical Latin songs is relatively rare; thus it is of all the more interest to the study of a work such as Machaut's *Remède de Fortune* that, as early as this, we should have evidence of the *Consolation* itself being treated as a half-musical, half-literary composition. Nor was the *Consolation* unique as a *prosimetrum* in being partially set to music: neumes are also found in some of the manuscripts of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, a *prosimetrum* in nine books. Like these early manuscripts of the *Consolation*, the neumes occur only above the lines of verse in the *metra*, not in the *prosa*. The verse sections were treated, in other words, as songs, not simply as examples of metrical variation.

But although interest in setting the Boethian *metra* to music seems to have waned in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, instead we find two related kinds of activity:
the enclosure of songs set to music in love narratives, and the widespread experimentation with metrical forms in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century translations of the *Consolation*. These later French translations are of two distinct types: versions which imitate Boethius's prose-verse structure, and versions where the prose has been translated into octosyllables, and the *metra* into a variety of verse forms. These mixed translations (either prose-verse or verse-verse) have been classified by modern scholars into eight distinct versions, conveniently listed by Dwyer, which range from the early fourteenth to the late fifteenth centuries.62

As Dwyer points out, the kinds of metrical revision and elaboration undertaken in the different versions demonstrate "an intense concern with the possibilities of Boethian metrics" (p.68). To use one of his examples, Renaut de Louhans's verse translation uses eight-line stanzas for the prologue and Book I (except for the second *metrum*), then changes into couplets for Books II-V, again except for two stanzaic interpolations. Renaut cast the second *metrum* of Book I into six twelve-line stanzas rhyming a a b a a b b a b a b b a. Renaut's whole translation was itself revised three times, each one of the revisers experimenting in a different way with the metre and form of this *metrum*.63

We can see from such cases that the *Consolation* prompted something more than slavish translation, amounting to works in the vernacular of a metrical ingenuity that aspired to poetic status. The close association of these 'mixed' translations with love narratives containing songs is demonstrated physically in one of the manuscripts of the revision of Renaut's translation carried out c.1380 by an anonymous Benedictine monk. The manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity Hall Lib. MS 12, is well known for its numerous lively drawings.64 But, it is also remarkable for the way in which French *ballades* have been inserted into the translation at the end of Books I, II, IV and V.65 They are not part of the translation, but distinct from it; no other copies of them have been found elsewhere, although, as Dwyer has pointed out, the refrain of the third *ballade* ("Je meurs de soif au pres de la fontaine") is identical to the first line of a group of ten *ballades* by Charles d'Orléans.66

Since the manuscript dates from the early fifteenth century (M.R. James tentatively
suggests 1406) it seems to represent a further example of the kind of scribal interest in interpolated lyric which we discussed earlier in the chapter. Yet here we see this interest taking a more extreme form: not only are the *metra* rendered in varying French meters, they are supplemented by actual courtly lyrics. Since each book of the *Consolation* except the last ends with a *metrum*, the *metra* and the *ballades* are directly juxtaposed. It is as if we have a silent witness here to the way in which the *Consolation* had been increasingly assimilated throughout the fourteenth century into French court culture.

We can see this even more clearly in two further aspects of the manuscript. First, the courtly tone imparted to the *Consolation* by the *ballades* is confirmed by the illustrator. Alongside his drawings of scenes from the *Consolation*, he includes an illustration next to the second *ballade* of the King of Love, enthroned, with two arrows in each hand, and a man and a woman kneeling before him.67 This, together with his picture of Dame Musique carrying a scroll, is characteristic of the kind of picture which decorates, for instance, the Machaut manuscripts.68

A second feature of the manuscript, not commented upon by Dwyer, puts the *Consolation* into a markedly close relation with a courtly romance into which a song had already been incorporated by the poet. The work which immediately follows the *Consolation* in the manuscript is *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, written, it seems, in the same hand.69 The juxtaposition of the two works is itself telling: yet, in addition, the scribe inserts a further *ballade* at the end of the French poem. Not only is the *ballade* similar in style and structure to the *ballades* interpolated into the *Consolation*, but the second line ("Je meurt de soif et suy a la fontaine"), is almost identical with the refrain of the third *ballade*. *La Chastelaine de Vergi* contains in any case a stanza from a *chanson* by the Chastelain de Couci; the scribe, however, seems determined to make his own contribution to the process of lyric interpolation already exemplified in the poem, just as he has done to the *Consolation*. Thus he yokes the two works firmly together.

By the time of this Trinity Hall manuscript, the *Consolation* has virtually undergone a
metamorphosis into a love *dit*. Formally it resembles, in this version, a work such as Machaut's *Remède* by being written in octosyllabic couplets interspersed with verses in more complicated metrical forms. The addition of courtly *ballades* on topics of love seems to seal the process. There is also evidence within the translations of an attempt to rewrite Boethius in the moralising and allegorising manner characteristic of the *dits*. We may note, in particular, the eagerness with which personifications are introduced into passages of debate, and the ways in which the Orpheus *metrum* lends itself to amplification by means of both courtly vocabulary and musical commentary. The Benedictine reviser of Renaut's translation, for instance, describes Orpheus as a courtly lover: "Car Orpheus fust amans fins" (Dwyer, p.64). In this way he makes an explicit connection between the art of the lover and the art of the musician (as exemplified by Orpheus) which is frequently made in the love *dits*. Froissart concludes his *Paradis d'Amour* by thanking Orpheus:

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Qui me monstra et l'art et l'us  
De canter balade et rondiel  
Et virelay fait la nouvel  
Et le lay qui a bien maniere. (1713-16)
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In the prologues written by the translators of the *Consolation* we find a further point of convergence between the Boethian *metra* and the interpolated lyrics of the French *dits*. The way in which the translators draw attention to the consoling and refreshing power of the *metra* is very similar to the kinds of claim made by Machaut and Froissart about their own lyrics which we discussed in the last chapter. The thirteenth-century writer of the earliest French translation of the *Consolation* remarks as follows: that Boethius "fait vint e set manieres de metres que par la dolçor e la diversité del chant de musique conforte la dolor de la persone dolente". Compare the prologue written by Colard Mansion in his 1477 version:

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«Maintenant nostre acteur monstre et fait chansons metrifieez melodieuses pour soy souevement deliciter, maintenent il soubzjoinct proses pesantes et sentencieuses pour soy informer.» (p.21)
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This latter is a simple point about the enjoyable character of the songs as a relief from the sterner demands of the prose sections, similar to that made by Deschamps in his
L'Art de Dictier. The thirteenth-century translator comes closer to the concern of Machaut and Froissart with the artfulness of their lyric compositions. For, taking the point one stage further than Boethius, it is not only the sweetness ("dolçor") but the very "diversité del chant de musique" which consoles the sorrowing person, just as for Froissart's narrator in the Paradis d'Amour, Esperance's praise of his poetic skill is an important ingredient in the sense of well-being which has replaced his feelings of sorrow.

So far I have described the composition of love dits interspersed with lyric forms and the French translations of the Consolation as related kinds of activity. Yet no doubt to a certain extent they each directly contributed to the other: for while the Consolation provided a structural framework for poems such as the Remède, clearly the work of poets such as Nicole de Margival and Machaut contributed in turn to the kind of desire to experiment with lyric forms (even to the extent of interpolating courtly ballades) shown by the Consolation's later translators.

Evidence of late medieval English interest in the Consolation (by either poets or translators) is much rarer: before Henryson's rendering of the Orpheus metrum in his Orpheus and Eurydice, there were only Walton's translation in 1410, and Chaucer's c.1380. Nonetheless, I would argue that there is reason to associate Chaucer with the same kinds of fashionable treatment of the Consolation which we have seen in contemporary French poets and translators.

At first sight, there is little evidence of this interest in Chaucer. His own prose translation of Boethius does not differentiate between the prosae and the metra; nor does it show very much stylistic brilliance. It is in fact little more than a crib, for which Chaucer draws heavily upon Jean de Meun's prose translation, along with the Latin commentary of Nicholas Trevet. Yet, when Chaucer's other works dependent on Boethius are examined, a different picture emerges. For five of Chaucer's short poems are all based on the Consolation: 'Fortune', 'The Former Age', 'Truth', 'Gentilesse' and 'Lak of Stedfastnesse'. Chaucer followed contemporary French taste in writing them all in ballade form; indeed, most of his surviving short poems are ballades. While 'Truth' and 'Fortune' owe a general rather than a specific debt to Boethius, the other three are based at least partially on separate metra: 'The Former Age' on II, m.5, 'Lak of Stedfastnesse' on II,
This group of five ballades thus represents an exercise on Chaucer’s part in rendering some of the metra in Book II of the Consolation into English versions of a French court lyric form. The topicality of this attempt needs to be emphasised: for from these ballades alone, Chaucer shows himself to be in line with current trends in French translation. His alignment with French practice is demonstrated even more clearly in one of the manuscripts of the Boece, Cambridge University Library II, 3.21. In this manuscript, written about 1400, Chaucer’s two ballades ‘Fortune’ and ‘The Former Age’ are interpolated into the text immediately following Chaucer’s prose translation of Book II, metrum 5, with the rubric “Chaucer vp on this fyfte meter of the second book.”

This is an interesting example of an English manuscript in which the scribes seemed to wish to bring in verse renderings of the metra to supplement the all-prose translation. The ballades represent a gloss upon the text: a metrical gloss as well as a gloss upon its content. Furthermore, they provide an intriguing parallel with the closely contemporary Trinity Hall manuscript. We find here, in short, a juxtaposition brought about by the scribes of Chaucer’s prose translation with his metrical versions, which creates of his work the same kind of medley which was commonplace in French translations.

But it is not only in these five ballades, and in the way in which two of them have been added to his prose Boece, that Chaucer resembles a contemporary French translator of the Consolation. Troilus itself is a veritable anthology of Chaucer’s verse translations of Boethius, taken one stage further, metrically, from his prose cribs. Jefferson shows in detail, for instance, how closely Chaucer’s version in Troilus IV, 974-1078 of V, pr.3 of the Consolation, verbally resembles his prose translation of the same section, to the extent that even the arrangement of ideas is almost identical line by line.

Aside from numerous references to individual lines or ideas from the Consolation, Chaucer incorporates several longer passages. These include the ‘predestination soliloquy’ just mentioned; the Proem to Book III and the two hymns to Love (1254-74 and 1744-64) all from II, m.8; and the "compleyntes" by Troilus and Criseyde in IV, 470ff and
742-98 which both draw on the Orpheus metrum (III, m.12). By his casting of these metra (and prosae) into rhyme royal stanzas, it may not be too far-fetched to see Chaucer as providing an English equivalent of the attempts by translators such as Renaut de Louhans, or his Benedictine reviser, to render the Consolation entirely into verse.

The similarity of his enterprise is indicated by his use of the ballade stanza. I discussed earlier how Chaucer's choice of stanza compares with Boccaccio's own use of a stanza form (ottava rima) which had both 'high' lyric and cantare affiliations. This can now be supplemented with the observation that Chaucer's use of rhyme royal was, in part, a natural outcome of his French and Boethian reading. To a certain extent, we can see sections of his poem as a translation of Latin meters into English, transposed through a French medium.

We may consider, in this regard, the very interesting suggestion recently made by Wimsatt, that many of the set-pieces and songs in Troilus fall into a three-stanza structure which emulates the ballade, although of course it lacks a refrain. It is a suggestion which is certainly pertinent to the structure of Troilus, but not necessarily in the terms in which Wimsatt has stated it. His claim is that as many as twenty-six out of the fifty-six "lyric units" which he has defined in the poem conform to this three-stanza structure, while "thirteen more fall in the near-ballade range of seventeen to twenty-eight lines" (pp.21-22).

His figures, however, are misleading. Firstly, as I discussed at the start of the chapter, his definition of the "lyric unit" in both Troilus and the Filostrato is extremely wide. His own terms, that they are "the essentially non-narrative sequences of stanzas found in both works which might with moderate alteration be made into separate lyrics..." (p.20) beg several questions. What kinds of separate lyric would these passages be emulating; how much "moderate alteration" would be required to turn them into lyrics, and by whom would this alteration be made?

Without an attempt to give a specific explanation of his understanding of lyric, Wimsatt leaves himself open to the charge of arbitrariness. Furthermore, a closer examination not only of the twenty-six passages in Troilus which he claims have a three-
stanza structure, but also of the "developed lyric passages" which he lists for the Remède only confirms this suspicion.82

The statistics presented by Wimsatt provoke considerable doubt. But there is no need for him to strain his case: even the few examples of song in Troilus which could be agreed to fall into three stanzas show that a ballade structure was probably not far from Chaucer's mind. For instance, Wimsatt is certainly right to point out that "it is symptomatic of the Middle French bases of Chaucer's practice" that he should expand Petrarch's sonnet in Book I not into two stanzas of rhyme royal, but into three (p.24). Patricia Thomson remarks on the way in which Chaucer appears to ignore the implications of the sonnet structure, but fails to recognize that the dominant influence here was undoubtedly the French ballade.83

The Canticus Troili of Book I is an example of a song in Troilus upon which Wimsatt's suggestion sheds new and important light. For we can now see that Chaucer was not simply uninterested in sonnet form, but was concerned to recast it into a form more appropriate to the French ballade stanzas of his own poem. Another case where Wimsatt's hypothesis is suggestive is a passage at the height of Book III, the emotional climax of the entire poem, in which Chaucer includes a whole sequence of three-stanza songs: Troilus's invocation to Love at 1254-74 drawn from Boethius and Dante, Criseyde's aubade (1422-42), then Troilus's aubade in response which falls into two three-stanza sections (1450-70: "O cruel day..." and 1471-91 "My lady right..."). We shall go on to discuss the importance of these songs to Book III in the final chapter; here, it is enough to note that the presence of ballade-like structures links Troilus with the practice of interpolating ballades among French poets, and, in particular, among French translators of Boethius; a practice which we know interested Chaucer because he later interpolated a three-stanza ballade ("Hyd Absalon, thy gilte tresses clere") into the Prologue to the Legend of Good Women.

We have seen then that both Chaucer's short poems and Troilus itself are an indication of Chaucer's tendency to recast Boethian metra into a favourite song-form of French
courtly poets and Boethian translators. In the next chapter we shall be discussing the way in which Chaucer uses the *Consolation* to extend and give weight to the French lyric features which he incorporates into *Troilus*, not for once from a philosophical point of view, but instead in terms of Chaucer’s interest in Boethius’s formal alternation of song and prose. First, however, we should briefly consider the structure of the *Consolation* on its own terms, in order to see what made the work so attractive to French (and English) poets writing poetry in a mixture of song and narrative.84

IV The *prosimetrum* form of the *Consolation*

Perhaps one of the most distinctive features of the *Consolation* as a *prosimetrum* is the way in which Boethius relates the alternation of meter and prose to the pace of the argument. But what is equally distinctive is that the argument proceeds according to a dramatic, as well as a logical plan. Boethius begins the work not with a philosophical statement as such but with a lament provoked by a set of specific historical circumstances. In this way, he is presenting a philosophy not abstracted from life, but grounded in direct personal experience.

Indeed, as Philosophy remarks, he is so "torn this way and that by alternating fits of grief, wrath and anguish" (p.49) that she cannot begin to deal straightaway with the serious flaws in his thinking. Instead she has to perform a dual function, which consists not only in leading his mind towards fresh philosophical conclusions but in carrying out this process with psychological sensitivity. Her recognition of Boethius’s "emotional distraction" (p.51) at the start gives the work its plangent verisimilitude. The introduction is thus more than a mere ruse or device by which to set up the argument: rather it is part of Boethius’ conception of his work as a process of education, through which he will be able to face circumstance squarely.

Philosophy, in other words, has to make due allowances for the blinding effect of her pupil’s grief. Her process of healing has to deal with his emotional turbulencce as well as his logical confusion. By allowing this emotive element into his work, Boethius gives
room especially in the first half to certain responses to the argument which are strictly extraneous to philosophical issues. He presents the spectacle of someone being led out of grief towards a state of calm rationality, not at first by being persuaded by a process of logical argument, but by having his frame of mind altered by more subtle means. For this Philosophy resorts not to debate, but to song.

That song is an important part of her educative method is made explicit several times. For instance, at the start of Book II, Philosophy calls upon both Music and Rhetoric to provide the "mild and pleasant nourishment" which Boethius requires before he can bear anything stronger. 85 This is usually taken to mean that the songs have a straightforwardly diverting role as a refreshing alternative (for the reader as well as the sorrowing Boethius) to the more rigorous demands of the prosae. 86 However, this is to undervalue the part played by the metra in the first half of the work. For here, where Philosophy cannot yet properly fulfil her dialectical purpose, the songs do not distract from her argument but contribute to it. Yet they do so in a way which is difficult to define, and is characterised in the text by the kind of self-deprecating allusion quoted above.

One thing that the songs have in common is that they are very rarely introduced in the preceding prose. Their relation to the prose narrative is nearly always left implicit. This provides the argument as a whole with a great freedom of structure: it can take a sudden leap forward without embarrassment. Released from the straitjacket of steady logical development, it can easily anticipate forwards, or reflect backwards. The hiatus between prose and song, in short, provides room for thought: it can exploit the capacity of the mind to think associatively and metaphorically as well as logically and analytically, without, perhaps awkwardly, having to trace the transition between the two.

At the beginning of the work, this hiatus between song and prose works quite specifically to avoid the kind of philosophical rigour which Boethius is at first unable to practice. The first song, indeed, is unashamedly a complaint written in the first person, which makes no pretence towards ordered reflectiveness but dwells obsessively on personal details and feelings. It even prompts a complaint in turn from Philosophy (I,
m.2). The third metrum is thus the first song to stand distinct from its narrative surroundings. But, as we discussed in the last chapter, Boethius turns this to dramatic advantage. Without apparently being sung by either character the song simply interposes itself between Philosophy and Boethius, suffering under his "blinding cloud" of tears. In this way it represents not a comment upon the situation, but a dramatic enactment of the process of change taking place in Boethius's mind.

Subsequent songs in the first two books when they are sung by Philosophy are more discursive. But their effect is still non-philosophical. They are assumed to be having an influence upon Boethius which is better capable of penetrating his thoughts than prose argument. Philosophy will often turn abruptly from prose to poetry for this reason: sometimes she even abandons the attempt at prose instruction altogether. Metrum six of Book I, for instance, sung after Boethius's long outburst against Fortune in prosa 5 and metrum 5, entirely takes the place of rational debate. Philosophy diagnoses Boethius's state of mind in prosa 6 and prescribes the song, as it were, as a sedative. Several songs are introduced in this way, not as stepping stones in the argument, but as "gentle medicines". Yet it is precisely their apparent disjunction from the prose argument which makes them structurally effective in making Boethius - and, by extension, the reader - more receptive to prose argument. The process of distracting him acts cunningly as the very means of propelling the argument forward.

He admits to this himself at the start of Book III:

She had stopped singing, but the enchantment of her song left me spellbound. I was absorbed and wanted to go on listening. After a moment I spoke to her.

"You are the greatest comfort for exhausted spirits. By the weight of your tenets and the delightfulness of your singing you have so refreshed me that I now think myself capable of facing the blows of Fortune." (p.78)

His remarks follow a particularly marked hiatus in which the gap between song and prose is also the gap between two books.87 Once again this break in the narrative represents not a halt in the argument but a step forward. Boethius's response takes place in this time created in the narrative between song and prose: it is characteristic of the argumentative method of the work that no attempt is made to define this response.

205
Boethius's presentation of song in the *Consolation*, by giving it a dramatic freedom of effect, sets his work quite apart from the other late Classical example of *prosimetrum*, Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis*, and also from the twelfth-century imitations of it, Bernadus Silvestris's *De Mundi Universitate* (also known as the *Cosmographia*), and Alain de Lille's *De Planctu Naturae*. Martianus Capella's scholastic allegorical treatise has little in common with the more subdued and subtle method of personification employed by Boethius. Music and *metra* are set schematically rather than dramatically into the work, where, for instance, songs are sung by the nine Muses in turn near the start, in Book II, and at the end. In the seven books which introduce each of the liberal arts, *metra* are interspersed relatively carelessly. The one exception is Book IX on *Harmonia*. Here, as might be expected, the songs are more carefully integrated into a scholastic conception of musical order. Martianus resembles Boethius more in this book than in any other. After all, Boethius was himself to provide a textbook exposition on music in his *De Musica*.

However, it is striking how much more thoroughly and successfully than Martianus Boethius takes over a literary framework in his *Consolation*. Martianus does attempt to present his learning in a fabular form, but as Lewis remarks, he "deceived himself if he thought that by this framework he was gilding the pill for the benefit of his pupils." By contrast, while Boethius's musical theory pervades the *Consolation*, he is content to let the *metra* demonstrate their powers of restoration without the supporting scaffolding of an academic explanation of their effect. In this way, unlike Martianus, he manages not merely to illustrate but to create.

We have considered only a few of the ways in which Boethius takes advantage of the alternation of song and prose in the presentation of his philosophical theme. Yet already many reasons should be apparent for the attraction the *Consolation* had for subsequent poets writing in mixed forms. One of the most important, quite simply, is the autobiographical cast of the work. The *Consolation* skilfully fuses several genres: *consolatio*, Menippean satire, monologue and apocalyptic dialogue. Yet to leave the analysis in these terms is to fail to appreciate the result of this fusion, which is, in the first place, a first-person *narrative*. This is more true of the first half of the
work than of the second, which becomes progressively more like a Platonic dialogue. Yet the impetus which Boethius gives at the start to the ensuing discussion is purely narrative in character: Philosophy's entrance is a surprise rather than an anticipated event. Furthermore the introduction is highly personal, which is captured by Chaucer in the way he begins his translation of the first *metrum* with a cry followed immediately by an emphatic first-person: "Allas ! I wepynge..."

This element of first-person narration is enough to make the *Consolation* of considerable interest to a French love poet. A further feature with immediate potential in a love narrative is Boethius's use of complaint. It is notable in Chaucer's translation how consistently he renders the Latin synonyms for sorrow or sad recitation with the French courtly noun "compleynte" or verb "compleyne". The pose struck by Boethius at the very beginning of the work is primarily that of the sorrowful poet rather than simply the sorrowful protagonist, or even the vexed philosopher. It is true that Philosophy orders off Boethius's Muses of poetry immediately on her arrival, but she equally promptly replaces them with her own Muses, and matches his complaint with another. Even Philosophy, then, is presented as a poet. It is not difficult to see how readily this opening scene of the *Consolation* could be recast within a courtly setting as a poet-lover finding rebuke and consolation from a Wisdom figure, and from poetry itself.

It is Boethius's structural use of the *metra*, however, from which a poet such as Machaut or Chaucer gained particular insight. For Boethius mixes metres into the debate in a remarkable display of structural experimentation. Sometimes song is a foil to the debate, sometimes an elaboration or deliberate digression. Sometimes it is used as a means of creating an element of indefiniteness or even spontaneity within the circumscribed framework of argument, in order to allow in an unexpected perception. In this way, the *Consolation* acts as a brilliant structural model for poets interested in setting songs into narrative. It is only in the later medieval period that poets such as Machaut, Chaucer and Henryson begin specifically to imitate the *Consolation* in this respect: yet it is possible to find in the *Consolation* an anticipation of nearly every kind of application
of the structural relation between song and narrative practised throughout the work of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French writers.
CHAPTER SIX

_Song and sentement in_ Troilus and Criseyde

We have now considered the respective influences upon _Troilus_ of Boccaccio and Boethius. At the same time, however, we have also found that it would be misleading to think that Chaucer’s view of either was culturally "pure", either in the sense that he viewed them from a single perspective, or that they each influenced him in only one direction. On the contrary, Boccaccio’s _Filostrato_ is itself full of French lyric and romance elements, while the _Consolation_ was familiar to Chaucer in a transposed French courtly guise as well as in its original Latin form. As we turn, finally, to the handling of song in _Troilus_ itself, we will therefore be taking into account a complexity of response in Chaucer, provoked partly by the range of his sources, but also partly by the complexity of their own treatment of the mixed form of song and narrative.

I The Proems

One of the major reasons for arguing, as Burrow does, that Chaucer did not wish to "orient" his work "towards lyric" is that Chaucer denies any direct association of the romance with his own experience as a lover. Burrow adduces Chaucer’s remark in the Proem to Book II: "At one point he says firmly that he is _not_ writing ‘de sentement’" (p.53):

> ffor-whi to euery louere I me excuse  
> That of no sentement I this endite,  
> But out of Latyn in my tonge it write. (II, 12-14)

But it is odd to say that Chaucer is saying anything "firmly" here. For one thing, the remark is clearly meant to be self-deprecating. Alastair Minnis has shown how consistently Chaucer uses the vocabulary of a compiler or translator, rather than that of a poet;¹ and it is one of the oldest tricks in the book to pretend to be a hack.

Secondly, as I discussed in chapter 4, _sentement_ is a heavily loaded word in the fourteenth century. It is disingenuous of Chaucer to suggest that a poet as deeply rooted in the French tradition as himself could simply throw it all away. It is indeed important
to recognize, as Burrow says, that Chaucer is here inverting the characteristic pose of the poet-lover presented by Machaut and Froissart. But it is equally important to recognize that this is an extraordinary thing to do at the start of a love poem. Chaucer directly contradicts one of the most cherished French assertions that poetry must be written out of genuine feeling or it will be artificial or "counterfeit":

Car qui de sentement ne fait,
Son ouevre et son chant contrefait (Remède, 407-08)

In doing so, Chaucer perversely lays claim to the very charge of artificiality made against Machaut and Froissart which was discussed in chapter 3. In other words, far from asserting with Machaut that poetry cannot be written without true feeling, Chaucer blithely admits that he is writing "of no sentement". But what poet ever claimed with any seriousness that he was writing "vnfelyngly" (line 19)? This is a strange posture for a love poet to take, and such a flat contradiction of everything that Machaut says, that we should be wary of assuming straightaway, as Burrow does, that it is Chaucer's poetic manifesto.

This statement of Chaucer's in the second Proem can only be properly understood by considering it in relation to the Proem to Book I. In this Proem he presents his role as a poet of love in a seemingly orthodox French manner. He is "the sorwful instrument / That helpeth loueres...to pleyne" (10-11), the servant of the servants of Love who does all he can to ease a lover's path towards "gladnesse".

Seen in this light, Chaucer's firm disassociation of the romance from his own personal experience as a lover is not, as Burrow sees it, a simple reaction to Boccaccio. It should rather be understood as a development of an essentially French posture, in which the poet is fully aware of the social obligation upon him to be the spokesman of others' sorrows. In this sense, it is not even true to say that Chaucer entirely disallows a lyric function for his poem. For he pays lip-service at least to the notion that his poem will help a lover's cause:

But natheles, if this may don gladnesse
To any louere, and his cause auaille,
Haue he my thonk, and myn be this traualle (I, 19-21)
It is just that he dares not pray for success for himself (15-17).

This is usually taken to mean that Chaucer is presenting himself as an outsider in love. But even that point is phrased in the characteristic language of a love poet. He says he is an "unlikely" lover, but still describes his position as desperate:

ffor I, that god of loues servuantz serue,
Ne dar to loue, for myn vnliklynesse,
Preyen for speed, al sholde I ther-fore sterue,
So fer am I from his help in derknesse; (I, 15-18)

His phrase "al sholde I ther-fore sterue" comes straight out of any lover's complaint. Much as in the Book of the Duchess, Chaucer's reference to his own situation as a lover is enigmatic.

Just as it is wrong to see Chaucer straightforwardly rejecting Boccaccio's bias towards the first-person voice of lyric, so it is wrong to see him as entirely averse to the whole French notion of a love-poet's relation to feeling. Chaucer's pose of apology to lovers for the lack of sentement in his poetry (re-iterated throughout Troilus) seems to be trying to provoke one of two kinds of reaction. Firstly, by plumping very obviously for the "wrong" answer in what is a crucial problem for any love poet (the relation of sentiment and style), he may seem to be creating a pose designed to question the "right" answer asserted by French love poets. On the other hand, if his pose is believed, his audience will begin to marvel all the more at his ability to write sensitively about love in spite of his protestations.

Either way, Chaucer's remarks in this Proem to Book II could hardly stimulate questions about the love poet's relation to genuine sentiment in a love poem more sharply. Machaut and Froissart succeed in taming the issue, consciously, wittily and elegantly. Chaucer's effort to distance himself from the whole issue succeeds instead in aggravating it. That this is neither unintentional nor incidental is shown by the way in which Chaucer raises the subject again not only in the Proem to Book III, but more especially, in the songs throughout the work.

Burrow implies that because Chaucer is not writing from personal experience he is therefore not interested in "sentement" at all: that he is unhappy about Boccaccio's bias
towards 'autobiographical' effusion. This, however, represents an elision in Burrow's argument. For whilst Chaucer denies any personal knowledge of "sentement" for himself, he is clearly very interested, in the poem as a whole, in the problem of how to express the "sentement" felt by others. Indeed, as a poet writing about love, he can hardly avoid it. Troilus is littered with extended soliloquies debating the nature of feeling: the fact that Chaucer is not speaking them in his own voice does not ease his problem of how best and most sincerely to write them.

The Proem to Book III represents his quandary very distinctly. Having declared his lack of "sentement" in the previous Proem, he now asks Venus to pour it into him:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ye in my naked herte sentement} \\
\text{In-hielde, and do me shewe of thy sweetnesse.} \\
\text{Calioppe, thi vois be nowne present,} \\
\text{ffor now is nede: sestow nought my destresse,} \\
\text{How I mot telle a-non right the gladnesse} \\
\text{Of Troilus, to Venus heryinge? (III, 43-48)}
\end{align*}
\]

His request is really a very strange one (in French terms), although again, it simply represents a logical extension of the attitude developed throughout the first two Proems. For by asking Venus for a direct infusion of "sentement", he is behaving as if feelings were somehow separable from experience: as if they could be *felt* vicariously. It is an appeal to Venus not for Love itself, but for some kind of surrogate impression of what it feels like to experience Love.

In his subsequent plea to Calliope as well Chaucer admits to the desperate nature of his situation: "sestow nought my destresse?" Before, in the Proem to Book II, Clio, the Muse of History, had been enough to meet his poetic needs (II, 8-11); here, however, it seems she is not. Chaucer's double appeal to Venus and Calliope registers his admission that "sentement" after all cannot quite be dispensed with, and that in order to express "sentement" adequately he needs the highest style of all: the "best" or most "beautiful voice" amongst the Muses.²

We understand the significance of Chaucer's quandary in this Proem when the narrative resumes. For his own request for "sentement" and high style has interrupted Troilus in the middle of the same "kankedort". Book II ends with Troilus caught at the very moment
when he has to think of what to say to Criseyde in his first opportunity to "hire preye / Of loue". The great question "O myghty God, what shal he seye?" is then suspended while Chaucer summons his own ability to answer it. When the narrative returns to Troilus, we find that he has lain "al this mene while":

Recordyng his lesson in this manere:
"Mafay," thoughte he, "thus wol I sey and thus;
This wol I pleyne vn-to my lady dere;
That word is good, and this shal be my cheere;
This nyl I nought forgeten in no wise."
God leue hym werken as he kan deuyse (Ill, 51-56)

Wimsatt points out how closely these lines compare with a passage from Machaut's *Behaingne* (464-76). Troilus's worries over what to say here (which recur throughout the poem) are indeed a very Machaut-like preoccupation with the way in which a lover practises an *art*, not simply indulges in experience. Chaucer's juxtaposition of his own concern over how to practise the art of love poetry with Troilus's musings over which words are "good", and what sort of expression to wear on his face, demonstrates that the concerns of a poet and of a lover (how best to express feeling) are parallel, indeed inseparable.

We saw in chapter 4 that the extent to which this artistic crux was first examined by Chaucer in his *Book of the Duchess* by means of the Black Knight's "compleynte". There the crux was largely defined by the poem's relation as an elegy to death, and its distance from the constraints of courtly expectation. In *Troilus* Chaucer returns to the same issue with more freedom and explicitness (although one might remark in passing how frequently the love language throughout the poem still defines itself in relation to death). Chaucer, as it were, rescues the issue (of how best to *express* sentiment) from the French conspiracy of polite silence over the matter, and makes it instead an open point of discussion. He does this firstly by filling Book III with a large sequence of songs; and secondly, by framing songs throughout the poem with some kind of direct allusion to the debate.

There is space here for only two of the most striking examples of such a framing. Chaucer's introduction to the *Canticus Troili* of Book I takes a full two stanzas:

213
And ouere al this jet muchel more he thoughte
What forto speke, and what to holden inne,
And what to arten hire to loue he soughte,
And on a song anon right to bygynne,
And gan loue on his sorwe forto wynne;
ffor with good hope he gan fully assente
Criseyde forto loue, and nought repente.

And of his song naught only the sentence,
As writ myn auctour called Lollius,
But pleynly, saueoure tonges difference,
I dar wel seyn in al that Troilus
Seyde in his song, loo every word right thus
As I shal seyn; and who-so list it here,
Loo, next this vers he may it fynden here. (I, 386-99)

We can see Chaucer emphasizing the same concerns on Troilus’s part over “what forto speke
and what to holden inne”; on how best to phrase his love. Chaucer then follows this in
the next stanza with remarks on his own poetic practice, creating the same kind of
juxtaposition which we noticed between the Proem to Book III and the adjacent narrative.
He makes a point of claiming that he has rendered “naught only the sentence”, but “euery
word” of the song from his auctour. It is not possible to do justice here to the
complexity of this claim, to the way in which, for instance, Chaucer suddenly chooses to
put the ideal of slavish translation on a pedestal, with a problematic allusion to the
obscure figure of Lollius. For our purposes, however, it is enough to note that it is a
song which has prompted his remarks.

The implication of this will be seen more clearly if we compare Chaucer’s comments on
Criseyde’s "compleynte" in Book IV, 743-49, 757-98. We may note first that Chaucer
(unlike Boccaccio) gives the piece a formal description at the start: "And thus she spak,
sobbyng in hire compleynte" (742). His reaction to the "compleynte" dwells again on the
problem of rendering it adequately:

How myghte it euere y-red ben or y-songe,
The pleynte that she made in hire destresse ?
I not; but as for me, my litel tonge,
If I discryuen wolde hire heuynesse,
It sholde make hire sorwe seme lesse
Than that it was, and childishly deface
Hire heigh compleynte, and therfore ich it pace. (IV, 799-805)

Donaldson has argued that this is a "tactless disclaimer". His reason is that "we are so
acutely aware that a time will come when her sorrow will be consoled that we are apt to
transmute the narrator's fear of failing to do justice to her feeling into a failure on
her part genuinely to feel." (p.72) We may or may not agree with Donaldson's
characterisation of Chaucer's narrator, but he does alert us to the way Chaucer raises the
very problem which the love poet would normally hope to avoid: a failure to present a
character's feeling as genuine.

If we compare Chaucer's stanza with Boccaccio's at this point, we find that although
Chaucer's is on the whole a close translation, he changes Boccaccio's "Chi" ("Who") to
"How" (799). The difference, though small, is significant, and lies in the two poets'
relation to the story. Boccaccio wishes to be as faithful as possible to the truth of the
dramatic situation: while admitting to the difficulty of doing so, he wants to portray
Criseyde's grief credibly and directly. Chaucer does not, by contrast, see himself in a
direct relation to the story. Yet the result is not, paradoxically, that he manages
simply to present Criseyde's grief more objectively, but that he stirs up the whole
hornet's nest of what it is both "to do justice to her feeling" and "genuinely to feel".

These two examples of Chaucer's framing comments on a song may be taken as
representative of the way in which songs throughout the poem provide the occasion for a
narratorial comment about style. In this way Chaucer makes an important borrowing from
the French love *dit*, for he takes advantage of interpolated song, just as Machaut does, to
concentrate upon his role as a poet. We discussed in chapter 3 how the inset lyrics in
the French *dits* demonstrate insistently that the poet is a poet, however much he may
dramatise himself as a lover. In the case of Chaucer, the songs in *Troilus* point to his
role as a poet precisely because he refuses to dramatise himself as a lover.

II · Song and the structure of Book III

In the Proem to Book III, as we saw, Chaucer actually asks for "sentement" despite his
earlier protestations that he needed to adopt only a historical approach to the romance.
His request is significant because it anticipates the most concentrated sequence of lyric
writing in the entire poem. Troilus and Criseyde communicate with each other throughout the Book, for the most part not in the kind of naturalistic dialogue spoken by Criseyde with Pandarus, but in highly patterned and structurally balanced speeches.

The sequence begins, after Troilus's initial stuttering attempts at such a speech (98, 100-12), with a full three-stanza ballade-like outpouring, carefully framed by a single, over-arching sentence: "What that I mene, O swete herte deere ?... Lo, this mene I, myn owen swete herte" (127, 147). Criseyde replies with an equally decorous speech twenty-three lines in length (159-81). The formality of their discourse even receives comment from Pandarus, who apes their rhetorical posture by physically falling on his knees and casting up his hands and eyes to heaven:

"Immortal god," quod he, "that mayst nought deyen, Cupide I mene, of this mayst glorifie; And Venus, thow mayst maken melodie." (185-87)

Having celebrated the moment in this fashion, he then hurries to curtail the meeting, remarking with a laugh that they will soon have more leisure not only "to speke of loue aright" (199), but to outdo each other in the attempt ("...lat se which of ȝow shal bere the belle" (198)).

Once again, we may note how Pandarus's slightly sniggering allusion to the elevated verbal form in which their love-making will take place draws attention to the potentially awkward relation between what they feel, and how they express that feeling. Pandarus's words are recalled by the narrator in two separate comments a little later, where he remarks again that they still "ne leiser haue hire speches to fulfelle" (510); but that Pandarus is doing his utmost to arrange that "...at leiser al this heighe matere, / Touchyng here loue, were at the fulle vp-bounde" (516-17).

By such remarks (and partly through Pandarus), the narrator keeps up a continual faint banter about the difficulty of matching emotional heights with an appropriately elevated style. Their effort is not simply to love, but to love in the high style set by their speeches. Their love, in this way, is a "heigh matere" which requires as much arranging and ordering as a poetic composition. This is no conceit of Chaucer's, but a problem of the relation between style and sentiment which is central to the characters' perception of
love. It is part of the purpose of the banter not to ridicule their attempts, but to anticipate the kind of embarrassing pomposity which is risked by any attempt to strike a serious posture.

As the Book continues, so the speeches accumulate: Chaucer ensures that the high point of sentiment in the whole poem is marked by a crescendo of songs. Most of these are not present in Boccaccio; instead Chaucer makes use of a lyric-narrative structure which is rooted in the French tradition. Wimsatt points out, rightly, that Machaut’s *Remède* is one of the most significant models for Chaucer’s use of lyrics in a narrative poem. However, in many respects *Troilus* bears an even closer resemblance to Machaut’s later work, the *Voir Dit*. Thus, to concentrate on Book III, Troilus’s invocation to the gods at 705ff (noted by the scribe of the Rawlinson manuscript) where he timidly asks for aid in the love scene to come, is reminiscent of the moment in the *Voir Dit* when Machaut gains his first (and only) opportunity to share his lady’s bed. Shaking with fear, he climbs in next to her, and makes a prayer to Venus, who responds by sending a cloud to cover them both from sight while a ‘miracle’ takes place.

In the narrative which follows this scene, Machaut reveals that while the cloud was over them, both Machaut and Toute-Belle had felt inspired to compose a lyric. Machaut wrote a *virelai*:

Et si dura longuette
Tant que j’eus fait presentiment,
Ains que Venus s’en fust alee,
Ceste chanson qu’est baladée. (pp.158-59)

Toute-Belle, on the other hand, wrote a *rondel*, as she explains when she sends it in her next letter to Machaut:

«qui fu fais le jour et l’eure que le virelay fut fais que vous m’avez envoié, & a l’eure que li miracles fu fais» (p.166).

This scene seems a comic recreation into ‘autobiographical’ terms, of the euphemism used long previously by Renart in his *Guillaume de Dole*, in which singing songs represents love-making:

Dex ! tant beaus chans et tant beaus diz,
sor riches coutes, sor beaus liz,

217
Reality and its poetic representation are never more closely intertwined in the *Voir Dit* than at its romantic climax. The romantic event ("li miracles") becomes a poetic event, to the extent that for all we know Machaut and Toute-Belle did nothing else under Venus's aegis except compose lyrics.

It is tempting to interpret this moment in the *Voir Dit* as an elaborate witticism on Machaut's part, in which he implies that a lover can do no more to prove his love, even in bed, than to compose a song. Chaucer does not push the equation between love and poetic style to quite this extreme; nonetheless, Troilus's first instinct once he has Criseyde in his arms is to deliver a three-stanza "ballade": "O Love, O Charite" (III, 1254-74). Having noted the dependence of this moment on Machaut, it is important also to stress the differences between the two poets' handling of lyric. In Machaut, the lyric is essentially an opportunity for a sophisticated treatment of the relation between art and life, in which art gains the upper hand.

The use of songs in courtly circumstances, including within courtly narratives, had already been familiar in French poetic circles for at least a century before Machaut (and no doubt for far longer). Machaut could thus take for granted a literary tradition of awareness about the easy movement between the 'real' matters of love, and the writing of songs, an awareness in fact exhibited as early as *Guillaume de Dole*. The sophistication of Machaut's approach to lyric, however, avoids the need to treat lyric with the utmost seriousness. Chaucer, on the other hand, by avoiding a direct answer to the problem of how to express sentiment adequately, risks exposing lyric form to exactly that kind of seriousness.

We can see this most clearly in two further passages in Book III, the first at the meeting of Troilus and Criseyde, and the second at their parting at the end of the night. In each passage the communication between the two lovers reaches a pitch of formality. The first, we recall, is apparently dominated by the practical, bustling efforts made by Pandarus to bring the lovers into physical proximity. In the midst of this, however, both Troilus and Criseyde embark on a series of highly rhetorically patterned lyric monologues,
beginning with Troilus's invocation to the gods, mentioned above, and followed by Criseyde's four-stanza Boethian discourse on "fals felicitee" (813-40).

The whole scene has been very well described by Muscatine, who demonstrates, in particular, the acute contrasts of style between these patterned outbursts and Pandarus's "colloquial incisiveness". Muscatine's emphasis is on the "controlled ambiguity" of the scene, indeed of the whole poem. For him the "idealised" and the "naturalistic" styles weigh equally in the balance: we get a "double view" and thus a "double irony" of the same situation (p.153). Important and influential though this argument has been, it is possible to find it over-accommodating to each kind of style. Muscatine's view of *Troilus* tends towards the schematic.

However, if we consider the lyric-narrative structure of Book III without this sense of a determining ambiguity of style, we find that Chaucer actually weights the book considerably in the direction of lyric. For each of these passages, at the beginning and end of the night respectively, is organized into a cumulative sequence of lyric pieces, the first of which culminates in a swoon, and the second, at the end of the book, with the *Canticus TroiIi*. In the first, the scene develops on two distinct levels, the practical and the emotional. Practically, Pandarus is simply trying to push them together; he achieves this, however, on the lovers' terms, by an emotional ruse in which he manages to instigate a process of suspected jealousy, wounded accusation, sorrow and forgiveness. The lovers respond to this (unknown to them) trumped-up situation with magnificent seriousness: Criseyde delivering an immense nine-stanza complaint on jealousy (988-1054), and Troilus with a swoon. The importance of this is not so much the simple fact that the lovers behave in a high style, as that the whole mechanism by which they are brought together is one designed to provoke a elevated response from them.

Again, the French basis of the structure of this scene must be emphasised. Wimsatt has pointed out that Chaucer's description of Troilus's swoon draws on Amant's description in the *Remède* of the faint which he suffered after his *complainte*:

* Aussi fui com tous desvoiez
  De scens, de memoire et de force *
Et de toute autre vigour. Pour ce
Estoie je cheus en transe. (1490-93)

And every spirit his vigour in knette,
So they astoned or oppressed were.
The felyng of his sorwe, or of his fere,
Or of aught elles, fled was out of towne;
And down he fel al sodeynly a-swowne. (III, 1088-92)

In addition to the verbal similarity, Chaucer adopts the same structure as Machaut of a complaint immediately followed by a swoon. In this Chaucer had another model in the Behaingne, where the lady falls down as if dead after her account of her sorrow to her companion. In the dits, a swoon acts as the emotional climax of a complaint; in the Remède, it also preludes the consolation of the lover, brought about by the arrival of Esperance. Similarly in Troilus, the swoon brings about Troilus’s joyful union with his lady, proving the means by which Pandarurs is able physically to bring the lovers together.

A French lyric-narrative structure thus underpins the central love scene in Book III, the climax of which, as we noted earlier, is itself marked by a song (Troilus’s "ballade" "O Love, O Charite"). In addition the love scene is brought to a close by a sequence of aubades. It is difficult to think of a precedent for the use of an aubade in a love narrative; in this way Chaucer creatively affirms his persistent application of the technique of lyric interpolation to this section of the poem.

The kind of interchange in song here is, moreover, reminiscent, once more, of a passage from the Voir Dit. Machaut and Toute-Belle communicate by letter for some time before they actually meet face to face. They meet in a garden where Machaut, out of fear, falls prey to the usual lover’s paralysis of speech and movement. Toute-Belle, seeing that he is unable to speak, instead sings a refrain to him. As Machaut narrates:

Et je, forment la resgardoie,
Mais nulle chose ne disoie:
Lors prist doucement à chanter
Et dist ainsi en son chanter:
«Amis, amés de cuer d’ame,
Amés comme loiaus amis.» (p.92)

And he, finding his voice, replies back in song with a rondel:

Je li respondi, sans demeure,
Ce Rondel que je fis en l’eure:
RONDEL

«Douce dame, quant je vous voy...» (p.92)

This meets in turn with a rondeau from her, which uses his same refrain:

«Tres-dous amis, quant je vous voy...» (p.93)

The way in which Machaut's fear at first silences him, but is then dispelled and eased by Toute-Belle's song, to which he is then able to respond in song himself, may be compared first of all with Chaucer's beautiful description of the process by which Criseyde opens her heart:

And as the newe abaysed nyghtyngale,
That stynteth first when she bygynneth to synge,
Whan that she hereth any herde tale,
Or in the heges any wyght stirynge,
And after siker doth hire vois out rynge,
Right so Criseyde, whan hire drede stente,
Opned hire herte and tolde hym hire entente. (III, 1233-39)

Troilus, rather than Criseyde, takes up the lyric challenge at this point with his invocation to Love. However, as dawn begins to break, it is Criseyde who initiates the sequence of three-stanza lyric laments. She begins with "Myn hertes lif..." (1422), to which Troilus responds with a double lyric, consisting in an aubade ("O cruel day" (1450-70)) and a sorrowful address to Criseyde (1471-91). The much more condensed description of their second night together contains just one single-stanza aubade by Troilus (1702-08).

III Troilus and the Boethian use of song

A discussion of the lyric interpolations in Book III of Troilus would, of course, be incomplete without considering Troilus's final hymn to Love: "Loue that of erthe and se hath gouernaunce" (1744-71). This, as is well-known, is taken from Boethius II, m.8, Chaucer having used the material from Boccaccio's song in his Proem to the same book. We have concentrated so far on the French aspects of Chaucer's structural method; however, Chaucer's use of Boethius at the end of the book suggests that Boethius may be of even greater significance to the mixed structure of the book, indeed of the poem as a whole.
There have been few attempts to consider the structural as opposed to the thematic and verbal relation between *Troilus* and the *Consolation*, apart from John McCall’s essay on the five-part structure of each work.¹⁶ My concern here is not to argue for so consistent an imitation of the *Consolation* as McCall claims of Chaucer, but briefly to suggest instead that Chaucer used Boethius specifically to amplify and modify his allusions to the French lyric-narrative tradition. In particular, we will see the ways in which Chaucer’s structural placing of song in relation to internal debate derives from Boethius’s use of song in the dialectical structure of the *Consolation*.

We saw earlier that Chaucer’s denial of any personal experience of "sentement" was not a straightforward rejection of Boccaccio’s heady attachment to feeling, but rather a complex response to an essentially French attitude towards the composition of love poetry. If we consider the Proems to Books I, II and III once more, together with the Proem to Book IV, we find that there is a third factor influencing Chaucer’s position, which helps to define his relation to the writing of lyric poetry more closely still. Alongside Chaucer’s protestations of "unliklynesse" in love, each of the Proems contains a significant Boethian allusion which belies his own proclaimed detachment from the story.

The Proem to Book I in fact begins with the same words that open the first *metrum* of the *Consolation*. At the end of the first stanza, Chaucer writes:

Thesiphone, thow help me for tendite
Thise woful vers that wepen as I write. (I, 6-7)

This echoes the words of his own translation in the *Boece*:

Allas! I wepynge, am constreyneyd to bygymen vers of sorwful mater, that whilom in florysschyng studie made delitable ditees. For lo! rendynge Muses of poetes enditen to me thynges to ben writen, and dcrey vers of wretchidnesse weten my face with verray teres. (I, m.I: 1-6)

What is significant about the allusion is that Chaucer should take over the opening *lyric* voice of the *Consolation*. In this way, although he goes on to distance himself from Boccaccio and re-define his attitude in relation to Machaut, he has already taken on a lyric voice distinct from either.

We can see this more clearly in the subsequent Proems. The start of the second Proem is usually attributed in modern editions to the opening lines of Dante’s *Purgatorio* (I, 1-
3). However, as McCall convincingly argues, it is more likely to be taken from the second book of the *Consolation*. Chaucer begins:

```
Owt of thise blake wawes forto saylle,
O wynde, O wynde, the weder gynneth clere,
ffor in this see the boot hath swych trauaylle
Of my konnyng that vnneth I it steere:
This see clepe I the tempestous matere
Of disespeir that Troilus was inne - (II, 1-6)\(^{17}\)
```

The corresponding passage in the *Boece* is as follows:

```
Yif thou committest and betakest thi seyles to the wynd, thow shalt ben shoven,
nat thider that thow woldest, but whider that the wynd schouveth the.
(II, pr.1: 101-04)
```

The comparison is particularly telling when we note that Chaucer uses the same extended metaphor in his single-stanza *Canticus Troili* of Book V:

```
"O sterre, of which I lost haue al the light,
With herte soore wel oughte I to biwaille,
That euere derk in torment nyght by nyght,
Toward my deth with wynd in steere I saille;
ffor which the tenthe nyght, if that I faille
The gydyng of thi bemes bright an houre,
My ship and me Caribdis wol deuoure." (638-44)
```

This song replaces that used at the equivalent point in the narrative by Boccaccio; but it is usually suggested that Chaucer actually derives his figure of a voyage from a misreading of *Filostrato V*, 62/7 "disii porto di morte".\(^{18}\) The clear connection, however, between the song and the opening of Book II, makes the subject of the song unlikely to have arisen by such accidental means. It would be entirely fitting for Chaucer, in common with all his other dark allusions amidst the increasingly joyful tone of the early part of the poem, to hark forward in this way to the very song which Troilus sings at the height of his despair.

The guiding influence of Boethius is clearer still in the Proem to Book III. We saw that Chaucer's appeal to Venus for "sentement" is a prelude to the most extended sequence of lyric poetry in the entire poem, culminating in a versification of Boethius II, m.8. However, it is particularly important to notice that a Boethian song not only ends the book, but also begins it. For although it is true that Chaucer in the first instance is drawing on the Boccaccian song which he has moved here from its original position at the
end of the book, ("O luce eterna" (III, 74-79)) Boccaccio had in any case derived his
song from the same Boethian *metrum* (II, m.8). Moreover, Chaucer deepens the Boethian
basis of the Boccaccian song even further, by making additional references to the *metrum*
in his second stanza.

In other words, *pace* Burrow, Chaucer in this third Book, far from reducing Boccaccio’s
emphasis on lyric, so constructs the book that a Boccaccian song actually initiates its
lyric pattern. Yet, at the same time, Chaucer takes the hint from Boccaccio in turning to
the *Consolation* itself, here and at the end, in order to frame the book, not, after all,
with an Italian effusion, but with a Boethian concept of Love which is essentially cosmic
in nature.

If we turn, finally, to the fourth Proem, we see Chaucer consolidate his imitation of
Boethius’ lyric persona by re-invoking the note of complaint first sounded in the Proem to
Book I. The sudden change in tone from Book III to Book IV is, of course, evident to any
reader. But we should notice, in particular, how Chaucer turns bitterly on the heights in
*song* achieved in Book III:

```
But al to litel, weylaway the whyle,
Lasteth swich ioie, y-thonked be fortune,
That semeth trewest whan she wol bygyle,
And kan to fooles so hire song entune,
That she hem hent and blent, traitour comune; (IV, 1-5)
```

These songs are henceforth replaced by complaint which is indeed the predominant lyric
genre in the rest of the poem. Instead of Venus who gave him "sentement", Chaucer
addresses the Furies "That endeles compleignen euere in pyne" (23). On his own part, he
returns to the Boethian role which he had played in Book I:

```
And now my penne, alass ! with which I write,
Quaketh for drede of that I moste endite. (13-14)21
```

Taking all four Proems together, we can see that where Chaucer retreats from or re-
defines the lyric persona of Boccaccio and Machaut, he assumes instead that of Boethius.
I discussed, when considering the *Consolation* in the last chapter, the way in which it
constitutes an important model for later love poets by being cast in autobiographical
form. Chaucer refuses to put the love story itself into his own voice, in the terms of
his own personal experience. What he does instead, however, is to take from Boethius an autobiographical voice which is indeed deeply moved, but not by a problem of love. In this way, Chaucer is able to use Boethius to broaden the responsibility of the sentimental voice. He avoids, in other words, the question of the relation of sentiment and feeling as it is narrowly defined in Machaut, and turns to a Boethian definition of love which includes the heavens in its sweep as well as an individual pair of lovers:

"Loue, that of erthe and se hath gouernaunce,
Loue, that his hestes hath in heuenes hye,
Loue, that with an holsom alliaunce
Halt peples ioyned, as hym lest hem gye,
Loue, that knetteth lawe of compaignie,
And couples doth in vertue forto dwelle,
Bynd this acord that I have told and telle."

(III, 1744-50)

Boethius not only helps to characterise Chaucer's lyric persona, he also provides an important stimulus for the way in which Chaucer allows song throughout the poem to arise out of a process of internal debate. Wallace shows how, in the first instance, Chaucer is building upon Boccaccio's own employment of a debate structure. Even where Chaucer does not use Boccaccio's language directly, he often takes Boccaccio's cue for internal debate, in particular "the precise moment at which the protagonist's mind moves from one side of the debate to the other." (p.98). Chaucer, however, often recasts Boccaccio's presentation of debate into a French allegorical confrontation between, for instance, Kynde and Daunger (II, 1373-76).

It is notable, moreover, that at certain of the most significant passages of internal deliberation in the poem, Chaucer either substitutes the song supplied by Boccaccio, or adds one of his own. The former is the case with the Cantici Troili of Books I and V, and the latter with the Cantus Antigone. For the Canticus Troili of Book I, as Patricia Thomson has discussed in detail, Chaucer chooses a Petrarchan sonnet which presents not only a violent expression of feeling, but an extended analysis of that feeling. When we consider the narrative process which leads up to the song, we find that Chaucer has intensified Troilus's mental reaction to his new experience of love in a specifically French direction. Thus where Troiolo only imagines Criseida's appearance, Troilus makes
"a mirour of his mynde / In which he saugh al holly hire figure", a phrase which Chaucer also uses to translate the role of Dous Penser in his *Romaunt*:

> For Thought anoon thanne shall bygynne,  
> As fer, God wot, as he can fynde,  
> To make a mirrour of his mynde;  
> For to biholde he wole not lette.  
> Hir persone he shall afore hym sette... (2804-08)

The way in which the song crystallizes the sense of mental turbulence in Troilus bears some resemblance to certain passages in thirteenth-century French romance, where, for instance, in *Guillaume de Dole*, the Emperor Conrad also sings or hears songs which represent his state of mind (3180-95 and 4127-40). Perhaps surprisingly, fourteenth-century French *dits* do not tend to relate song to narrative in this way. Songs either specifically distract the narrator by providing a pleasurable interlude in the narration, or, as complaints, straightforwardly express his feelings of sorrow.

In fact, Chaucer's technique of allowing the song to arise out of the debate, and provide a pause in which Troilus can comment upon his own state of mind finds its closest precedent in the *Consolation*. As I discussed earlier, the *Consolation* provided a model for all kinds of use of song in the process of debate. In particular, just as Troilus's song represents a pause in his thinking in order to reflect upon his own thoughts, several of the early *metra* (such as I, m.2 and m.7) represent a static analysis of Boethius's state of mind, caught as it is between his feelings of sorrow and his desire to clarify his confusion.

The *Canticus Troili* of Book V, 638-44 (also a departure from the song provided by Boccaccio) is similarly positioned in the narrative as an interlude, in this case one which takes place among Troilus's frantic, sorrowful "ymagynyngs". We have already noted that the extended metaphor of the song appears to be Boethian in origin. What is also characteristically Boethian is the way in which the song moves away obliquely from the narrative description of Troilus's mental state into a metaphorical description of it.

Once again, this is perhaps best represented by I, m.2 and m.7, where Boethius's mental turmoil is compared to a sky of dark clouds and to a stream dashing against a rock.
Troilus's hope that the song will in some way console him (also in Boccaccio) is, as we have seen, a concept intrinsic to Machaut's and Froissart's dits. Yet the fundamentally Boethian derivation of the idea (for both Chaucer and the French poets) is emphasised by Chaucer's comment immediately after the song:

This song whan he thus songen hadde, soone
He fil a3eyn in-to hise sikes olde; (V, 645-46)

The return of Troilus's feelings of sorrow as soon as the song is finished recalls Boethius's comment in II, pr.3, that the sweet and consoling effect of songs lasts only while they actually sound, and afterwards the wretched man feels as much pain as before.

This is Chaucer's translation (with his gloss from Trivet):

"Serteynly," quod I thanne, "thise ben faire thynges and enoynted with hony swetnesse of Rethorik and Musike; and oonly whil thei ben herd thei ben delycious, but to wrecches it is a deppere felyng of harm. (This is to seyn, that wrecches felen the harms that thei suffren more greuously than the remedies or the delites of thise wordes mowen gladen or conforten hem.) (II, pr.3, 8-16)

Chaucer seems to allude to this gloss not only in this passage, but elsewhere throughout Book V, where Troilus insists on his inability to be consoled by any of the distractions proffered by Pandarus.23

IV Antigone's song and internal debate

In turning finally to Antigone's song, (II, 827-75) we find the most conspicuous example in the entire poem of the way in which Chaucer combines both French and Boethian precedent in the structuring of songs within a narrative setting. The song is an independent interpolation by Chaucer, not suggested to him in any way by Boccaccio, and represents a brilliant experiment in juxtaposing song and narrative which seems to take instinctive advantage of structural techniques which were employed throughout the French tradition. I shall be arguing, in addition, that these techniques were in any case directly available to Chaucer in the Consolation.

The song itself, as Wimsatt has argued, is based heavily on Machaut.24 Wimsatt points out that it is not derived from the lay, Le Paradis d'Amours alone, as Kittredge
maintained, but that there are several similarities with another four of Machaut's lyrics, especially with his lay *Mireoir amoureux*. The setting and circumstances of the song, however, borrow little from any of the fourteenth-century *dits*. Whether Chaucer was aware of it or not, the narrative context of his song actually harks back with remarkable directness to thirteenth-century romance. We have already had occasion to remark that the French elements of the *Filostrato* should in some ways be seen as dependent more on thirteenth-century romance than on the then very novel fourteenth-century *dit amoureux*. We should not be too surprised then, if Chaucer, in taking over Boccaccio's romance setting for a story of love, should also show more kinship at times to Jean Renart or Adenet le Roi than to Guillaume de Machaut. 25

The features which link Chaucer's setting of Antigone's song with the settings of songs in thirteenth-century *romans* consist first of all of attention to details of contemporary domestic entertainment. The Emperor Conrad, in *Guillaume de Dole*, hears most of his songs (if he does not sing them himself) from a minstrel, in the company of a select group of courtiers. The minstrels vary considerably from travelling celebrities, both male and female, such as "la Bele Doete [de Troies]" (4566) to his confidante Jouglet. 26 Similarly, Criseyde goes down into her garden "to pleyen" with her three nieces and a large company of her women. The song sung by her niece Antigone is thus part of the general atmosphere of "pleyinge", not directly prompted by Criseyde's feelings in any way.

It is important to stress that this is in fact the only song throughout *Troilus* presented in these terms, as a song sung *to* one of the major characters not *by* one of them in the course of a scene of domestic courtly entertainment. While this is highly unusual in the poem, and indeed among contemporary French poems, it was not only commonplace in thirteenth-century *romans*, but provided much of their interest. For as we saw in chapter 2, poets such as Adenet le Roi, Renart or Henri d'Andeli took advantage of the distance between a song that is sung in public circumstances and its listening audience to create dramatic irony or satirical comedy. We also recall, for instance, how the author of *Galeran de Bretagne* exploits the dramatic circumstances in which Fresne sings her only
refrain. In these romans, the public venue for many of the songs is of as much interest to the poet as the identity of the character to whom he assigns a song. At this moment in Troilus, the fact that the song is external to Criseyde's private debate is also particularly significant.

We will see the reason for this by considering more closely the way in which the song is set into the narrative. It comes, like the Cantici Troili, at the end of a long period of inner debate. The debate begins as early as line 650 where Criseyde first sees Troilus riding by:

And let it so softe in hire herte synke,
That to hire self she seyde, "who zaf me drynke ?" (II, 650-51)

From this sudden moment of response to Troilus, Criseyde builds an enormous edifice of internal analysis, in which she considers every aspect of her present situation and of what she can foresee of its implications.

At first, she veers constantly from one point of view to the other. Thus she enumerates all Troilus's evident qualities, but then counters these thoughts of admiration and incipient love with the threats of dishonour (730ff.) and thraldom (750ff.). In the midst of the argument, she appears to come to a firm decision to give her love to Troilus.

Beginning a stanza with several questions, by the end she has answered it boldly:

"What shal I doon ? to what fyn lyue I thus ?
Shal I nat loue, in cas if that me leste ?
What, pardieux ! I am naught religious.
And though that I myn herte sette at reste
Upon this knyght, that is the worthieste,
And kepe alwey myn honour and my name,
By alle right, it may do me no shame." (II, 757-63)

But it is here, at this apparent moment of resolve, that Chaucer interposes a stanza of deeply Boethian significance:

But right as when the sonne shyneth bright,
In March, that chaungeth ofte tyme his face,
And that a cloude is put with wynd to flight,
Which ouersprat the sonne as for a space,
A cloudy thought gan thorugh hire soule pace,
That ouerspradde hire brighte thoughtes alle,
So that for feere almost she gan to falle. (764-70)

This re-working of I, m.3 makes a double allusion to Boethius's structural method in his
treatment of this *metrum*. First, just as the *metrum*, by interposing itself between Philosophy and Boethius mirrors the process of change taking place in Boethius’s mind, so Chaucer’s stanza mirrors the process by which a sudden fear overwhelms Criseyde’s thoughts. But in addition, Chaucer’s allusion also looks forward to the song which is yet to come. For the *metrum* in the *Consolation* acts to dissolve the very clouds of which it speaks. In Chaucer’s poem, this process of consolation and clarification is delayed until Antigone sings. In this way, Chaucer suspends the action of the *metrum* so that at first it represents only the doubt in Criseyde’s mind, not its resolution."

As her period of internal debate comes to a close, however, the imagery of the *metrum* is briefly recalled: "And after that, hire thought gan forto clere" (806). She clutches at a proverb ("He which that nothing vnder taketh, / No thyng nacheueth"), but then decides to put it all out of her mind by amusing herself in the garden, remaining nonetheless mentally insecure:

And with an other thought hire herte quaketh;
Than slepeth hope, and after drede awaketh;
Now hoot, now cold; but thus, bitwixen tweye,
She rist hire vp, and wente here forto pleye. (II, 809-12)

In this way, the song, once more, comes at the peak of a process of indecision. However, unlike the *Canici Troili*, she hears the song only incidentally. It comes unexpectedly, and at a time when Criseyde is deliberately trying to distract herself from a suspended point of argument. The effect of this upon her is strikingly analogous to the effect of the *metra* in the *Consolation* upon Boethius. In the *Consolation*, as we saw, the *metra* provide the argument as a whole with considerable flexibility of movement. The hiatus between a *prosa* and a *metra* allows the argument to take a leap forward. Yet it does so, especially in the early *metra*, precisely because the *metra* are seemingly designed pleasurably to distract Boethius. It is the very time spent away from the philosophical argument that Boethius finds helps him to be attracted more towards it.

Criseyde’s response to Antigone’s song occurs along very similar lines. Here too, we see the use to which Chaucer puts the romance setting of the song. For again, it is while she is aiming to distract herself with pleasantly entertaining activities that Criseyde
suddenly receives, through the song, the very impetus towards Love which she had so far restrained and constrained in argument. By proclaiming the joys of Love with such a lack of reserve, Antigone's song releases Criseyde from the embarrassment of having to give in to Love consciously. The song provides her with a means of succumbing to Love's delights vicariously, through someone else's experience. Criseyde is able to share in the feelings of a lover who has no reservations about Love, an experience which helps her to relinquish those of her own:

But euery word -which that she of hire herde,  
She gan to prenten in hire herte faste,  
And ay gan loue hire lasse for tagaste  
Than it dide erst and synken in hire herte,  
That she wex somwhat able to conuerte. (II, 899-903)

By diverting her from her internal debate, the song actually projects the debate externally, and into public hearing. Like a thirteenth-century romancier, Chaucer takes advantage of this public setting to propel Criseyde forward into Love. For the public audience enjoyed by the song gives the song a kind of authority, confirmed by Antigone herself. Criseyde is swayed then not only by the joyful message of the song, but by the way in which the circumstances of the song exert a social pressure upon her to assent to it.

The ability of the song to incline Criseyde towards Love thus recalls the action of the metrum to which Chaucer earlier alludes. The suspended process of restoration is released by the way in which the song resolves Criseyde's confusion, just as the metrum cleared Boethius's mind of sorrow. Chaucer concludes the episode with a very French touch. For while Criseyde is lying awake that night, still pondering the song, a nightingale sings a further "lay / Of love". This acts purely to refresh and soothe her, as if to set the final seal upon the process of consolation through lyric which she has received. From this moment onwards, Criseyde is now open to Love.

231
NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION


4. See Appendix B.


6. G.B. Gybbon-Monypenny, ‘Autobiography in the *Libro de Buen Amor* in Light of Some Literary Comparisons’, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 34 (1957), 63-78, describes the *Libro* as belonging to the genre of "erotic pseudo-autobiography". The other works which he argues fall into this category are Ulrich's *Frauendienst*, Dante's *Vita Nuova*, Nicole de Margival's *Dit de la Panthère*, Froissart's *L'Espinette Amoureuse* and Prisca Amoureuse and Machaut's *Voir Dit*. This is a somewhat arbitrary list, but it is a rare attempt to begin to consider narratives containing songs as a distinct genre.


9. See, for example, *Roman de la Poire*, 1149; *Le Court d'Amours* (suite), 3416; *Salut* II, stanza 6; *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amors*, 269. Doss-Quinby is therefore wrong to regard the term as "assez rare", stating that there are only two examples of its use in the medieval period (p.169).


NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. To avoid confusion with the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, I adopt normal practice in referring to Renart’s work as *Guillaume de Dole*.

The date of *Guillaume de Dole* has been disputed: G. Servois, SATF (Paris, 1893) originally proposed October 1199 - May 1202; R. Lejeune-Dehousse (Paris, 1936) gives 1212-13. F. Lecoy, CFMA (Paris, 1962; reprinted 1979) however, argues for 1228, and this is accepted by N.H.J. van den Boogaard as the *terminus post quem* for the *rondeau* in *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris, 1969). M.B.M. Boulton (‘Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries’ (unpublished dissertation, University of Oxford, 1981)) states that *Galeran de Bretagne* should be regarded as the first narrative work to contain a "lyric insertion". This work, which includes a single *refrain*, may in fact be by Renart, although this has not been conclusively established. Lejeune-Dehousse gives it a date prior to *Guillaume de Dole*, but this date is also disputed. Also of a similar period, with lyric insertions, are the prose *Tristan* (c.1230), and Gautier de Coinci’s *Les Miracles de Notre Dame* (1218-33). Renart’s originality is thus open to question, but he remains the first romance poet to draw attention to the device. For further discussion, see R. Lejeune-Dehousse, *L’Oeuvre de Jean Renart* (Paris, 1935) especially p.147, n.1 and p.130; and F. Lecoy, ‘Sur la date du Guillaume de Dole’, *Romantia*, 82 (1961), 379-402.

2. References to *Guillaume de Dole* are to Lecoy’s edition.

3. My confidence in Renart’s Prologue as a source of evidence about his romance might appear to ignore Tony Hunt’s reservations about the interpretative links between the prologue of a romance and the romance itself (‘The Prologue to Chrétien’s Li Contes del Graal’, *Romantia*, 92 (1971), 359-79). However, Hunt’s concern is to disprove the often easy assumption that a prologue will necessarily foreshadow the themes or *sens* of a romance. This is not my argument here, for I am interested not in the *sens* of the romance, but in its formal and stylistic characteristics.


5. These totals do not include the *epic laisses* quoted in *Guillaume de Dole*, and *Le Roman de la Violette*, nor the four extra lyrics quoted in MS variants of *Violette*. For a full description of the songs in *Dole* and *Violette* respectively, see Lecoy, pp.xxii-xxix, and Buffum, Introduction, XIII. Buffum argues that it is unlikely that Gerbert used *Guillaume de Dole* as a direct source for his songs, because their texts - e.g. the two Provençal songs - do not show the same kind of corruption. The two poets are thus likely to have chosen currently popular songs independently. This casts doubt on A. Ladd’s effort to show that in two cases, Gerbert’s choice of the same song as Renart implies "a deliberate attempt to criticize Jean Renart and to prove that Gerbert’s technique is better", ‘Lyric Insertions in thirteenth-century French narrative’, (unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1973), p.72.

6. The question is complicated by the evidence of melodic recitation of narrative works from the same period. There is a possibility, therefore, that "lire" and "chanter" refer to two different styles of singing, rather than to a spoken as against a sung manner of delivery. For narrative melody, see J. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986), Chs 6 & 7.

7. No complete musical study has been undertaken of the MSS of French works containing songs. The only music edition until Fowler’s (see below) of most of the dance-song forms was that by F. Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, 3 vols (Dresden, 1921; Göttingen, 1927; Langen bei Frankfurt, 1963). However, his work is in need of revision
since it contains many errors and idiosyncrasies (see Boogaard, pp.11-18; H. Spanke, ‘Das Corpus der ältesten französischen Tanzlyrik’, ZRP, 49 (1929); and W. Apel, ‘Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades in French 13th-century Song’, JAMS, 7 (1954), 121-30). For a partial list of MSS containing musical notation, see M.V. Fowler, ‘Musical interpolations in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French narratives’ (unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1979), Vol.1, Tables 1-9; and Vol.2, Appendix 1. Fowler is the most thorough to date, but she chooses to deal with only a limited number of romances, and often bases her transcriptions on Gennrich’s. Nonetheless, hers is the first attempt to provide a complete set of musical transcriptions for those romances. The list in my own Appendix A, though still not complete, indicates more fully than either Boulton or Fowler those thirteenth- and fourteenth-century MSS which contain actual, or spaces for, musical notation. An article is in progress which will update this report on music to include all the romans in Boogaard’s Bibliography.

8. Since textually, the songs are corruptly and incompletely transcribed (see for instance Lecoy, lines 1210-16, 2235-94 and 2389-91), it would not be unlikely if scribal incompetence were indeed a reason for the lack of musical notation. Musical concordances for several songs in Guillaume de Dole and Violette occur in other MSS. Fowler gives the following figures (pp.59-60):

- **Dole:**
  - 12 out of the 18 chansons courtoises
  - 8 out of the 18 rondets

- **Violette:**
  - 9 out of the 13 grands chants
  - 10 out of the 28 refrains

However, her figures do not entirely correspond with those of Lecoy and Boogaard. Lecoy lists 16, not 18 chansons courtoises in Guillaume de Dole; while of the rondeaux Boogaard prints only 16, since, as Lecoy also points out, of the total of 20 dance-songs, 1 is quoted twice, and 3 are isolated refrains. Also Boogaard gives 33 different refrains for Violette, not 28 as Fowler states on several occasions.


10. See Chailley, pp.60-68; also Fowler, ch.4, who transcribes a group of songs in MS D not printed by Chailley. For the music of Cui lairai ge and Ne vos repentez mie, see below Exx.1 & 2.

11. See n.63 below.

12. Edited by B. Malmberg (Lund, 1940).

13. For additional examples and references to the rhetorical traditions on which romance prologues are based, see the articles by Tony Hunt in n.3 above; also his ‘Tradition and Originality in the Prologues of Chretien de Troyes’, FMLS, 8 (1972), 320-37.


15. Boulton, Introduction, p.8: "The question of the literary functions of the insertions seems fundamental"; she gives a perfunctory account of the musical evidence only in a short Appendix. Ladd dismisses musical questions in occasional asides, often inaccurate: "There is no evidence outside of these narratives to indicate that these refrains were sung, with or without dancing, at the time when the narratives were written" (p.126). This ignores the presence of musical notation both within narratives and in numerous corresponding sources for the refrains.

16. For the fullest recent bibliography see Boulton, Appendix I (pp.344-46) and Bibliography (pp.353-64). Published listings (of varying length) occur in Boogaard, Part

17. See below, chapters 3 and 4.

18. In order to distinguish the Old French refrain from ‘refrains’ in the ordinary sense, I have italicised the term each time. The exact nature of this distinction provides the subject of much of the following discussion. A full-length textual study of the refrain repertory has recently been made by E. Doss-Quinby, Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe (New York, 1984). This was not available to me in the main stages of my research, but only after I had completed a full draft of my thesis. I was glad to find, therefore, her corroboration of my conclusions on all the essential characteristics of the refrain. Inevitably, several of our examples, and indeed arguments, coincided: in revising this chapter, I have tried to avoid such duplication except where we differ or have a different aim. The most important of these is that she considers the refrain entirely on its own terms, whereas my discussion is aimed towards clarifying its role in narrative poetry. Thus while she takes the variety of functions performed by refrains in their contexts simply as evidence of their "disponibilité" as a genre, my starting point with one of these contexts leads me to try to give more precise historical and aesthetic reasons for this "disponibilité". In addition, I consider directly its musical characteristics.

19. Boulton gives a useful numerical summary of the different kinds of lyric contained in narrative works throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, pp.11-16.

20. It is not, however, the only fabliau to contain songs: see Watriquet de Couvin’s Trois Dames de Paris (2 refrains), and Jean de Condé’s Lays dou blanc Chevalier (1 refrain).


22. See chapter 3, n.96.


24. OED: REFRAIN, Ref.1.

25. For further discussion of chansons-avec-des-refrains, and examples, see T. Gérold, La Musique au moyen âge (Paris, 1932), pp.277-83; Doss-Quinby, pp.96-111; and J.E. Stevens, Words and Music, pp.466-68.


27. But compare the half-lyric, half-dit structure of the Saluts d’amour, discussed below, chapter 4.
28. Full references to each of these contexts for the refrain are given in Boogaard, p.127. Chanson references (e.g. R1323) are to G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, edited by H. Spanke, I (Leiden, 1980); motet references (e.g. M177) are to Gennrich (1957), see n.26 above. All eight contexts are discussed in considerable detail by Doss-Quinby, pp.193-215.

29. Doss-Quinby gives the following statistic: nearly 1/3 of the refrains in Boogaard occur in more than one context.

30. See Boogaard, p.10.


32. Doss-Quinby is an important recent exception.


34. These "identités partielles", as she calls them, are also discussed by Doss-Quinby, pp.21-23.


36. See Boogaard's discussion of this problem with regard to the MSS of Renart le Nouvel, in 'Jacquemart Giélee et la lyrique de son temps', Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et leur temps, edited by H. Roussel and F. Suard (Lille, 1980), p.343.


39. References to Li Prison d'Amours are taken from A. Scheler, ed., Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé, 3 vols (Brussels, 1866-67), I, 133-46.

40. See Appendix A.

41. See n.7 above. Gennrich gives some 500 tunes for nearly 1300 texts.

42. These and subsequent transcriptions, unless otherwise stated, are taken from Fowler, Vol.2 (although I have emended the underlay). She uses the following (for the most part standard) sigla:

M PARIS BN f.fr.844
T PARIS BN f.fr.12615
Soissons PARIS BN n.a.fr.24541
MirN PARIS BN f.fr.25532
MirR Leningrad, Saltkov-Chtchedrine Library, MS.fr.F.v.XIV.9
Mo MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque de l'école de Médecine, H 196
MiA MUNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Frag.mus.4775
i PARIS BN f.fr.12483
Cour PARIS BN f.fr.25532

43. The vexed question of rhythm in thirteenth-century song does not affect the issue
here since we are primarily engaged in a comparison of melodic line. But in any case, there is little room for disagreement over the rhythm of dance-songs, as they are likely to be strongly measured.

44. The most detailed recent discussions are by Boogaard, 'Jacquemart Giélee ...', and J. Maillard, 'Les Refrains de caroles dans Renart le Nouvel', also in Alain de Lille &c., pp.277-93.

45. A fourth musical reading for Jai joie ramenee chi is given in La Court de Paradis, as follows:

\[ \text{Ex. 5 'J'ai joie ramenee chi'} \]

\[ \text{J'ai joie ramenee chi} \]

46. Boogaard, 'Jacquemart Giélee...', especially pp.338, 341-42, 351-52. For further discussion see also chapter 2 below.


50. There are many similarities between Old French refrains and the Arabic / Spanish kharjas, see P. Le Gentil, 'La Strophe zadjalesque, les khardjas et le problème des origines du lyrisme roman', Romania, 84 (1963), 1-27, 209-50, 409-11; and Doss-Quinby, pp.252-55.


53. 'Les plus anciennes danses'.

54. Doss-Quinby has now contributed a further body of work to support Boogaard's general case.


56. Doss-Quinby does not recognise any inconsistencies in Bec's approach, and so does not address this problem in her own discussion of the role of the refrain in the rondeau (pp.62-70).

57. 'Poems without Contexts: the Rawlinson Lyrics', in Essays on Medieval Literature
58. Jeanroy uses the three separate terms *rondet*, *rondel* and *rondeau* in order to differentiate between different periods of the development of the form from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. (*Origines*, pp.112, 406ff. and 426ff.) For the sake of clarity, and in common with recent scholars such as Delbouille, Maillard and Bee, I use the single term *rondeau* (sometimes abbreviated to *rondet*) to designate those lyrics of this genre particularly associated with the *carole* which occur in thirteenth-century *romans*. It should be noted that Boogaard uses *rondeau* as a collective term for the purposes of his Bibliography. But see his ‘Jacquemart Giélée...’ for his specific use of *rondeau de carole*.

For Jeanroy’s description of *rondets de carole* see *Origines*, pp.392, 406-08, and passim.

59. *De Musica*, edited by E. Rohloff (Leipzig, 1943), pp.50-51. Grocheo’s definition of the *rondeau* (*“rondelus”*) (c.1280) uses the terms "responsorius" and "refractus" for the refrain. See n.64 below.

60. For other examples of partially repeated refrains, see Boogaard, rond.6, (Dole, 522) 1, (Dole, 295 & 2514) and 13 (Dole, 2523).

61. In my view, the text of the song has been preserved in the MS in an abbreviated form, with the repetition of the strophic sections understood (although admittedly this would be an exceptional layout). Doss-Quinby’s independent discussion of this *rondeau* comes to the same conclusion (p.66). For a different reconstruction, see M. Françon, ‘Sur la Structure du Rondeau’, *RN*, 10 (1968), 147-49. Without dealing with the problem of the last two lines of this song, he claims that an initial statement of the refrain is to be understood; but as Le Gentil points out, there are no fewer than 8 examples in *Guillaume de Dole* with no initial refrain: aAabAB (‘A propos du Guillaume de Dole’, *Melanges offerts à M. Delbouille*, edited by M. Tyssens, 2 vols (Gemboux, 1964), II, 381-97). On the general problem of scribal abbreviation of the refrains, see Françon’s ‘La Structure du Rondeau’, *Medium Aevum*, 44 (1975), 54-59.

62. See pp.228, 232-33, 234, and especially 236. But Boogaard argues that sharp distinctions between these forms cannot be drawn: "Nous avons constaté aussi que la distinction entre rondeau et virelai ne manque parfois pas d’être arbitraire." (p.12). See, in particular, his reservations against Gennrich’s practice of imposing regular forms upon the songs in the latter’s *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen* (Boogaard, pp.11-12). As, amongst others, W. Apel notes, it is only in the songs of Jehan de Lescurel that the virelai first appears unambiguously (‘Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades’).

63. From Boogaard, it can be seen that apart from the 16 *rondeets* in *Guillaume de Dole*, the *rondeet* types ‘C’est la jus’ and ‘Bele Aelis’ also occur in the *Lai d’Aristote* (Boogaard, rond.17); sermons (Boogaard, rond.42-44); *Sone de Nansai* (Boogaard, rond.45); *Meliaicin* (Boogaard, rond.47); *rondeaux* by Guillaume d’Amiens (Boogaard, rond.92-93); Boogaard, rond.111 (from the Montpellier MS); Boogaard, rond.159-62 and 164-65 (from PARIS BN, f.fr.12615); and Boogaard, rond.180 and 185 (from PARIS BN, f.fr.12786). That makes a total of 33 out of the 198 *rondeaux* printed by Boogaard. Bartsch and Raynaud between them print a further 6 (different) songs of the ‘Bele Aelis’ type, and 3 songs of the ‘C’est la jus’ type (K. Bartsch, *Alfranzösische Romanzen und Pastorellen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1870): see (including some duplications) Nos.80, 85, 87, 88, 90, 93, 102); G. Raynaud, *Recueil de motets français*: Nos.XL, XLI, XLIII, XLIV. Studies of the ‘Bele Aelis’ songs include *La Chanson de Bele Aalis par le trouveur Baude de la Quariere*, edited by R. Meyer, J. Bédier and P. Aubry (Paris, 1904); M. Delbouille, ‘Sur les traces de Bele Aelis’, *Mélanges dédiés à J. Boutrière*, edited by I. Chazel and F. Pirot, 2 vols (Liège, 1971), I, 199-218; and also, on their use in sermons, T. Hunt, ‘De la chanson au sermon: Bele Aalys et Sur la rive de la mer’, *Romania*, 104 (1983), 433-56.
One of these sermons (by Stephen Langton in Trinity Coll. MS B 14.39) is edited by K. Reichl, in Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter (Munich, 1973).

64. This is clearly illustrated, for example, in rondets by Adam de la Halle, where only the melody of the refrain is given in the MSS. See Jean Maillard, Adam de la Halle: perspective musicale (Paris, 1982), ch.V, pp.85-112. See also the last part of Grocheo's definition of the rondeau: "Nos autem solum illam rotundam vel rotundellum dicimus, cuis partes non habent diversum cantum a cantu responsorii vel refractus." ("We, however, call round or rotundellus only that whose parts do not have a different melody from the melody of their response or refrain."). Translated by A. Seay, Concerning Music (Colorado Springs, 1973), p.17.

65. Bec, pp.223, 228-29, 232, 234, 236.

66. Although see below, chapter 2, for a comparison of Le Tournoi de Chauvency with Robin et Marion.


68. See n.66 above.

69. Quoted in Bédier, 'Les plus anciennes danses', p.407. The second stanza is in rondeau form and occurs independently as a rondeau in MS Montpellier, Bibl. de l'Ec. de Med.4196, f.219r, rond.2 (See Boogaard, Rond.110). According to I. Frank, however, the song is a 13th-century pastiche, and not to be taken as an "original" dance-song, 'Mélanges: "Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat". Notes de philologie pour l'étude des origines lyriques, II', Romania, 75 (1954), 98-108. See chapter 2, n.26 for further references to this kind of argument.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Boogaard includes any work under this heading which cannot be described as a *rondeau*, *chanson* or a motet. I will not here be discussing one of the most famous thirteenth-century examples of a work in song and narrative form, *Aucassin et Nicolette*. This is because, as a *chantefable*, it raises special problems which would require considerable additional discussion. Furthermore, it is important first to gain a better grasp of the tradition of song in romance, in order properly to understand *Aucassin* itself.

2. Edited by L. Foulet, CFMA (Paris, 1925).

3. PARIS BN f.fr. 24042. See Appendix A for details of other manuscripts of works containing songs.

4. Edited by M. Goldschmidt (Tübingen, 1899). Here two *lais* are used as a means of reminding the hero of his previous love-affairs. The second, like the *lai* in *Galeran de Bretagne*, acts as a coded love message. Both *Galeran* and *Sone de Nansai* recall the use of *lai* in prose Arthurian romances such as the prose *Tristan*, *Guiron le courtois* and the fourteenth-century *Perceforest*.

5. PARIS BN f.fr.12615; PARIS BN f.fr.844; and Wolfenbuttel 1206.

6. A point not properly brought out by Ladd, even though the grouping of the romans into those with "limited use of Refrains" and those with "larger groups of Refrains" forms the structural basis of her thesis. Her heading "limited use" is misleading, since one of her own conclusions is that works containing very few lyrics seem to have more care taken over their narrative structure than those which contain a large number. (See pp.19, 77 and 131).

7. An author’s deliberate adaptation of a plot in order to include one of these features can be seen in the *Roman de la Violette*. Gerbert de Montreuil bases the start and the end of the romance closely upon the anonymous *Comte de Poitiers*, which does not contain any songs. In the latter, the hero disguises himself as a pilgrim. Gerbert changes the disguise to that of a *jongleur*, and this both makes the introduction of songs more credible, and improves the plot in other respects by giving Gerart more likely access to the dinner at which he overhears crucial information about the character who betrays him.


10. There is some evidence that all the *rondeaux* were either specially adapted or newly written by Adenet to fit their context. All the *refrains* are unique: whereas the first three are closely related to other *refrains* (see Boogaard’s cross-references), the last four do not have any parallels. Moreover, the seventh *rondeau* includes the name Clarmondine in the strophe, and is described in the narrative as "une chançonnette nouvelle" (5914).

11. Delbouille dates the *Lai* on the basis of the songs it contains. However, his conjecture rests on the incorrect premise that the *Lai* is the only work other than *Guillaume de Dole* "où le rondeau soit cité intégralement". All other works, he asserts, contain only *refrains*. This is not true: several later romances such as *Cleomadés*, *Sone de Nansai*, the *Châtelain de Couci*, the *Roman de Laurin*, *Restor du Paon* and *Meliodor* contain *rondeaux*. 

240
12. See chapter 3 below; for further discussion, see also Ladd, Ch.4, pp.186-220.

13. See chapter 1 above.

14. Discussed below.

15. For another reference to "tour", see the famous description of carolling in Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*, edited by F. Lecoy, CFMA, 3 vols (Paris, 1965-70), I, 727ff; another example of "recommencer" used in a dance context occurs in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, lines 3115-17.

16. For references to other reconstructions of *rondets de carole*, see chapter 1, n.61.

17. For example, "li quens de Lucelebourc", in love with a lady famed for her dancing, sings a *rondet* with the following *refrain*: *Tenez moi, dame, por les maus d'amer.* (323-33).

18. Ladd takes it as a clumsiness that "the rondeau is written in dialogue while there is only one singer" (p.46). However, this seems an unnecessarily inflexible approach to the text.


20. *Some Versions of Pastoral* (London, 1935), p.22. H. Cooper, in *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich, 1977), states that "apart from a couple of works by Boccaccio...nothing resembling the pastoral romance was written during the Middle Ages" (p.214, n.4); *Guillaume de Dole* is certainly one exception.

21. For a bibliography of *isosyllabic interpretations*, and of *modal theory* respectively, see J.E. Stevens, *Words and Music*, p.414, n.2 and p.424, n.28. His own study offers the most detailed case yet for a "flexible" isosyllabic approach.

22. See, for example, No.25 in *Chanter m'estuet*, a *pastourelle-avec-des-refrains*. The editors make their own adaptation of the melody given for the first *refrain* in order to make it 'fit' the subsequent *refrains*, even though different melodies are supplied by the MSS for the different *refrains* throughout the song. (See their note 2, p.54).


25. Margit Sahlin, *Etude sur la carole médiévale*, also draws attention to the fact that songs associated with *caroles* in a romance "pouvaient être chantés sans aucun rapport avec la danse" (p.17). This, amongst other details, leads her to the conclusion that the *carole* escapes exact definition: "Plus nous l'avons étudie, plus sa nature nous a paru indécisse et flottante" (p.36). Our example from the *Roman de la Violette* shows, in addition, how the *romanciers* adapted *chansons à carole* for their own purposes.


241
27. Compare the similar use of song in the *Roman de la Poire*, where the poet begins the work with 12 five-stanza lyrics describing his 'own' love.

28. *Le Roman de la Poire* and *Renart le Nouvel* share two refrains: Boogaard, refs.784 and 1853.

29. Boogaard, ref.1004 is shared by *Violette* and *Renart le Nouvel*; for the refrains shared by the latter and *Le Tournoi*, see n.32 below.

30. Delbouille does not make it clear whether Bretel's assertion that this tournament took place is supported by any evidence outside the poem.

31. See Delbouille's description of the miniatures in MS OXFORD, Bodl.Douce 308 (O), pp.xxv-xxix.


33. Boogaard, refs.200, 513, 577, 595 and 936.

34. *Le Court d'Amours de Mahieu le Poirier* and *la suite anonyme de la 'Court d'Amours'*; see n.34 below.

35. Refrains shared as follows:

*Le Tournoi* and *Le Court d'Amours*: Boogaard, refs.765, 777, 936;

*Renart le Nouvel* and *Le Court d'Amours*: 485, 936, 955 and 969;

*La Court de Paradis* and *Le Tournoi*: 65 and 936.

Note that No.936 is shared by all four works; the music for this refrain is given in chapter 1, Ex.4. See also Vilamo-Pentti, p.43 and pp.54-78.

36. For a further example, see Boogaard, ref.1788: *Tote la joie que j'ai / me vient de vos*.

37. Poems concerning "questions d'amor" are common: two of the earliest in Latin are the 12th-century *Concilium Romarici Montis*, and the *Altercato Phyllidis et Florae*, which gave rise to several works in French. For references to courts of love, see W.A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of *The Court of Love'* (Boston, 1899). A related debate genre is the sung *jeu-parti*.


40. For a discussion of this problem, see Vilamo-Pentti, pp.48-50.

41. Boogaard, 'Jacquemart Giélée et la lyrique de son temps'.

42. Boogaard does not make any reference, however, to the music of the refrains.


45. See Appendix A.


47. ‘Jacquemart Gielée’, p.352.


51. Boogaard, refrs.156, 289, 430, 496, 746, 784, and 1074.

52. Boogaard, refr.200 occurs in *Robin et Marion*, *Renart le Nouvel*, *Le Tournoi* and *Salut d’Amour I*; refr.1860 occurs in *Robin et Marion* and *Renart le Nouvel*; refr.1473 occurs in *Feuillée* and *Le Tournoi*.

53. Edited by A. Jubinal, *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1839), pp.235-41. It has the form of an extended chanson-avec-des-refrains, with 29 stanzas (varying from four to eight lines), each ending with a separate refrain. It is interesting for the variety of terms it uses to describe the refrain: "mot", "motet", "pastourelle", "chanson" and "refrain". See chapter 3 below.

54. We have very few sources of information about Adam’s life apart from his own compositions, in particular, the *Congés* and *Le Jeu de la Feuillée*. The evidence that he accompanied Robert II to Naples comes from the *Jeu du Pèlerin*, lines 34-44. See H. Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres du trouvère Adam de la Halle* (Paris, 1898); A. Adler, *Sens et composition du Jeu de la Feuillée* (Ann Arbor, 1956); M. Ungureanu, *La Bourgeoisie naissante: société et littérature bourgeoises d’Arras aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Arras, 1955); J. Dufourmet, *Sur le Jeu de la Feuillée: études complémentaires* (Paris, 1977). For the view that he was still alive in 1306, see F. Gegou, ‘Adam le Bossu était-il mort en 1288 ?’, *Romania*, 86 (1966), 111-17; but see also N.R. Cartier’s objections, ‘La Mort d’Adam le Bossu’, *Romania*, 89 (1968), 116-24.

55. Ungureanu, p.78.

57. Ungureanu, pp.206-07.

58. For examples, see Maillard, *Adam de la Halle*, pp.143-61.


61. For a discussion of this game, see E. Langlois, ‘Le Jeu du Roi qui ne ment et le jeu du Roi et de la Reine’ in *Mélanges offerts à Camille Chabaneau*, RF, 23 (Erlangen, 1907), pp.163-73. Both Machaut and Froissart allude to it (*Remède de Fortune*, 770; and *L'Espinette Amoureuse*, 220).

62. See chapter 1 above.

63. *European Drama*, pp.140-44.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. J. Cerquiglini («Un Engin si souti»: Guillaume de Machaut et l'écriture au XIVe siècle (Geneva and Paris, 1985), ch.1: 'Le jeu des formes'), proposes two categories for lyric interpolation: "collage" and "montage" (p.24). While her distinction is broadly satisfactory, it is in need of historical qualification. She takes the Voir Dit as exemplary of its type, whereas in many ways it is an exception, and a reaction to more than one 'type' of precedent. The Remède de Fortune qualifies much more easily as an exemplary text.


3. Quotations from La Chastelaine de Vergi are taken from F. Whitehead's edition (Manchester, 1944); those from the Roman du Castelain de Couci from M. Delbouille, SATF (Paris, 1936). Vergi cannot be dated more precisely than between 1208 and 1288 (Whitehead, p.ix); for the dating of Couci, see Delbouille, p.lxxxiv.


6. Deschamps, Œuvres, X, p.xlix, Ballade XLII.


8. These have been edited, along with the more doubtful or incorrect attributions, by A. Lerond, Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Couci (Paris, 1964).


10. The chanson in Meliacin is actually by Gace Brulé; see Lerond, No. XXXI.

11. The Violette is a possible source for Vergi, as they share a lyric stanza, and the character of the Chastelaine herself; see the discussion in Whitehead, pp.xi-xii, n.2.

12. 'De la chanson au récit: La Chastelaine de Vergi', Vox Romanica, 27 (1968), p.79.


15. Two additional songs are introduced in the narrative, but are not quoted in the MSS. That they were originally intended to be included is suggested by an examination of BN f.fr.15098. In this MS, as for all the other songs, "chancon" has been written in the margin by the rubricator: however, since the line of text introducing them happens to fall on the bottom of the page, it seems as if they were simply omitted by accident.

16. The main exception to this in the 13th century is the prose Tristan in which the lais do play an important part in the structure of the romance (see J. Lods, 'Les Parties lyriques du Tristan en prose', BBSIA, 7 (1955), 73-78; E. Baumgartner, 'Remarques sur les pièces lyriques du Tristan en prose', Etudes offerts à Felix Lecoy (Paris, 1973), pp.19-25; and Boulton, p.142). In the 14th century two further Arthurian romances resemble the
prose Tristan in their use of song: Perceforest and Froissart's Meliador. The songs in the former are edited by J. Lods, (Geneva and Lille, 1953).

17. These are the introductions to the two missing songs (see n.15 above). Cf. Froissart, La Prison Amoureuse:
   Amours...
   me mist, n'a pas longtemps, envoie
   D'un virelay faire et chanter... (273-77)

18. Cerquiglini is thus mistaken in her claim that Renart le Nouvel is the only direct precedent for the use of letters in the Voir Dit (pp.40-41).

19. The prose Tristan is an exception.

20. The suggestion that Jakemés should be identified with Bretel, is argued against by Delbouille, pp.lxix-lxiii.

21. It is possible that the Roman de la Dame a la Lycorne (mid-14th.c. ?) is another precedent, but its date has not been settled: Gennrich in his edition (Dresden, 1908), ascribes it to the 13th century; Boogaard (p.11, n.2) thinks this too early.

22. See chapter 5 below.


24. The exact number of refrains in Poire is debatable. Boogaard identifies 22 (with one repeated, lines 284 and 2951), but as A. Ladd points out ('Lyric Insertions', p.133), 4 of these (Boogaard refs 1427, 706, 257 and 1585) are not part of the acrostic (see below) or given an illuminated initial. She therefore discounts Nos.706 and 257, without explaining why this reasoning does not apply to the others. In fact, Nos.1427 and 1585 are widely cited elsewhere, whereas 706 and 257 are unica; but 706 is described as sung in the narrative, and so I think should be retained. I agree with Ladd that there is no obvious reason for Boogaard's inclusion of No.257 (the last 2 lines of the poem).

25. For further examples of this type see M.B.M. Boulton, Chs VII and VIII.

26. Edited by Fr. Stehlich (Halle, 1881).

27. Refrains of a similar formulation ("Ainsi doit aler qui..." / "Ainsi va qui...") occur in a wide range of 13th-century romans, usually in dancing scenes. These include La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille, Le Court d'Amours, Guillaume de Dole, Meliacin, Renart le Nouvel, Escanor, La Court de Paradis, Le Tournoi de Chauvency, Le Restor du Paon, Le Lai d'Aristote, and Le Roman de la Violette (see Boogaard refs.60-74).

28. A further pattern is created by the initial letters of these three refrains which form part of his lady's name: A.N.N. (see below).

29. Other refrains are included in the dit without being part of the acrostic; see n.24 above.

30. See Appendix A.

31. Compare this scene with the description of the 'Jeu du Chapelet' in Le Tournoi de Chauvency (discussed in ch.1).

32. See Scheler, I, xiii.

34. This is also true, in fact, of the first "unsignalled" refrain in the *Roman de la Poire*.

35. Boogaard's view that it is a two- not a three-line refrain is given support, in this case, by the fact that only two lines are provided with staves in the Vienna MS. But on the general impossibility of identifying refrains with complete certainty, see Doss-Quinby, p.55.

36. Refrains are similarly used in the conclusions of motets: "Les cas où le refrain est cité en guise de conclusion sont très fréquents" (Rokseth, *Polyphonie*, IV, 247).

37. Both Boulton (pp.280 and 282) and Fowler (p.27) assert incorrectly that the more proverbial the function of a refrain, the less likely that it was sung.

38. From a microfilm examination only, it appears that these two refrain melodies are not in the same hand: the second, in small, rushed notes looks like a later addition to the MS.


42. With the single exception of the final Complainte in the MS (Complainte II).

43. See Appendix A.

44. See for example, Nos.25, 27, 33, and especially 128 in *Chanter M'Estuet*, edited by Rosenberg and Tischler.

45. See Meyer, p.133, and also his observation that one Provençal Salut has the form of a chanson (p.129).

46. But cf. the two dits entés by Lescurel, discussed below.

47. Strictly, the motet enté is enclosed within one refrain split in two (see Ch.1).
48. References to salutz as love-letters can be found in the Provençal romance Flamenca, edited by M.E. Porter and trans. by M.J. Hubert (Princeton, 1962), for example lines 7067-69, 7075-76 and 7084-88. Letters in the form of lyrics are also found in the prose Tristan: they are of two kinds, described as "lettres en semblance de lai" and "lettres en vers". Interestingly, the first letter begins with the salutation formula described by Meyer as characteristic of the Salutus ("Amis Amanz... saluz voz mande"). Music survives for three of the "lettres en semblance de lai" in a manuscript produced in the South of England (Vienna MS 2542), (see J. Maillard, 'Lais avec notation dans le Tristan en prose', Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune, 2 vols (Gembloux, 1969), II, 1347-64). There is an edition in progress of the prose Tristan by R.L. Curtis, 3 vols to date (Munich, 1963; Leyden, 1976; Cambridge, 1985); the lais (text and music) have been edited separately by T. Fotitch and R. Steiner (Munich, 1974).

49. These may be compared with the débat amoureux in Perceforest, and the débat d'amour in Le Roman de Cassidorus (discussed by R. Bossuat in Etudes romanes dédiées à Mario Roques (Paris, 1946), pp.63-75). The Roman de Cassidorus also contains a six-line salut d'amours (see the edition by J. Palermo, SATF, 2 vols (Paris, 1963-64) I, 193). See also the description of the tençon by Brunetto Latini in the Tresors, quoted and discussed by Kelly, Medieval Imagination, p.5.

50. Compare the similarly wide range of terms given to the refrains in the Traduction d'Ovide: chançon, motet, pastourelle, chançonette and karole. In the list of contents for the Roman de Fauvel (MS BN f.fr.146), the refrains are given the separate heading of "Reffrez de Chancon".

51. Edited by B. Roy (Leyden, 1974). This edition is not known to Boulton, Cerquiglini or Doss-Quinby, who all quote from their own MSS transcriptions. An attempt to date the work (to before 1240) by an analysis of the refrains contained in it has been made by Boogaard, 'L'Art d'aimer en prose' in Etudes offerts à E.R. Labande (Poitiers, 1974), pp.687-98. His work is not, however, conclusive (as he admits), nor in any case entirely convincing. A mid-13th-century treatise by Gérard de Liège on sacred and profane love also contains refrains; see Quinque incitamenta ad deum amandum ardenter, edited by A. Wilmart, Analecta reginensia, Studi e testi, 59 (Vatican City, 1933), pp.205-47.

52. See Roy, pp.45-49.

53. Refrains are also supplied with commentary in the Hereford proverb collection MS P.3.3, fols 164-167.

54. The mid-13th-century Chastoiement des Dames by Robert de Blois (edited by J.H. Fox (Paris, 1950)) is also based on the Ars amatoria, and includes a chanson d'amours as a sample of what a lover might sing.


56. For I. Frank's view that "Li jalous" is a 13th-century pastiche, see ch.1 above, n.69.


58. Boogaard refrs.1650 and 1601, and refr .292, respectively.

59. After the first strophe of 'Gracieuse, faitisse et sage', and after the tenth of 'Gracieus temps est'.
60. Some other slight differences are evident, for instance the occasional note is either lengthened or duplicated. Consider the two citations of Je l’amerai (Wilkins, pp.21 and 31):

Ex. 7  ‘Je l’amerai mon vivant’

61. Aucassin et Nicolette is, as always, an exception, along with the prose Tristan. Some other 13th-century examples of poets either newly adapting or composing their interpolations include Cleomadès (see ch.2, n.10) and the Chastoiement des Dames (see n.54 above).


63. Le Roman de la Rose au XVe siècle (Geneva, 1980).

64. Edited by H. Todd, SATF (Paris, 1883). One of its MSS, now lost (LENINGRAD, Bibl.publ.fr.F.v.XIV), also contains Le Roman de la Violette: an example of the way in which roumans de chançons notés were often collected together in the same manuscript.

65. The 12 songs at the beginning of the Roman de la Poire are, strictly speaking, an exception, but they are not integrated into the narrative.

66. These dits are often left out in discussions of the lyrics in the Panthère d’Amours (for instance in G. Reaney, ‘The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai, and Ballade Forms from Adam de la Hale to Guillaume de Machaut’, Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer (Regensburg, 1962), pp.421-27). However, they are all in distinct metres, the second (in 12-line stanzas, rhyming aabaab / bbabba) having the same form as the poem to the Virgin interpolated into Guillaume de Deguileville’s Le Pelerinage de la vie humaine (composed 1330-32).


68. One rondel of his (‘Soyez lie et menez goye’) occurs with musical settings in two MSS, and also without music in the Pennsylvania MS French 15 discussed by Wimsatt, Chaucer and the Poems of ‘Ch’ (Cambridge, 1982).

69. As Hoepffner points out (p.217), this is probably the earliest reference to the term chant royal.

70. The Chansons of Adam de la Halle (Manchester, 1971).

71. Edited by E. Hoepffner (Dresden, 1910).
72. This work has not been edited; this passage is quoted by Badel, p.344.

73. Thus for example, at the moment of capture of Regars by Biauté, Hesdin varies the usual pattern of end-stopped lines with:

\[
\text{Lors come Amours; Plaisance esmuet;}
\]

\[
\text{Amours hue; et Voloirs affuit. (544-45)}
\]

And again, where he is finally chased to the death by Amours:

\[
\text{Amours...}
\]

\[
\text{Vint en maniere de secours}
\]

\[
\text{Et a tous ses chiens amenés}
\]

\[
\text{Et come: "A lui ! prenés ! prenés !"}
\]

\[
\text{Puis escrie: "Haro ! il est pris!" (1575, 1577-80)}
\]


81. For further discussion of these terms see R. Dragonetti, "La Poesie...ceste musique naturelle", Essai d'exégèse d'un passage de l'Art de Dictier d'Eustache Deschamps', Mélanges offerts à Robert Guiette (Antwerp, 1961), pp.49-64; and I.S. Laurie, 'Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music', MLR, 59 (1964), 561-70; for criticism of their views, see 'The "Music" of the Lyric', pp.122-24.

82. Edited by E. Hoepffner, Oeuvres, III, 143-244.

83. Hoepffner mentions the refrain in passing, along with the priere; I have not come across any other reference to it.

84. See, for example, Nos.823, 822, 575, 576, 577 and 1811.

85. The illustration is reproduced in F. Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: the Fourteenth Century (1310-1380) (London, 1978), Plate 24, and described on p.86.

86. See chapter 5, n.8.

87. The refrain occurs in a chanson-avec-des-refrains (R1740); as the first line of a chanson à refrains by Moniot de Paris (R1188); in two motets (M814 and M890); on the final flyleaf of one of the manuscripts of the Roman de la Poire, BN f.fr. 2186; and as a proverb in two further chansons (R518 and R36, see Boogaard, p.233n.). Boogaard's reference omits the occurrence of this refrain in Hereford MS P.3.3, fol.164b. See also

88. Edited by P. Paris (Paris, 1875; reprinted Geneva, 1969). This edition is far from satisfactory since several passages are omitted without comment. One of these (Polyphemus' song) is printed by A. Thomas, *Romania*, 41 (1912), 384-89; other omissions are discussed by Cerquiglini, pp.219-20. A long-awaited edition by P. Imbs is in preparation.

89. Letter X, p.67; Letter XXX, p.238; line 7357.


91. A further two citations of this refrain occur still later in the work, in Letters XVII (p.134) and XXXVII (p.277).

92. This practice is frequent in the *Louange des Dames*, edited by N. Wilkins (Edinburgh, 1972), where for example, poems may share the same refrain (eg. Nos.148 & 155), or where the first line of one becomes the refrain of another (eg. Nos.32 & 149). The most striking example of self-citation occurs with No.188, lines of which are used as the refrains of the next four ballades in the MSS (which in Wilkins' numbering are 206, 12, 34, 49). See his note to No.188, p.177.


95. The only other examples in narrative of formal exchanges such as these concern poetic contests: see, for example, the exchange of *lais* in the prose Tristan between Tristan and a female musician, and Christine de Pisan's *Dit de la Pastoure* (and later, Sidney's *Arcadia*). One of the exchanges in the *Voir Dit* is in fact presented as a contest between Machaut and Th. de Paien.

96. *Le Roman de Fauvel* has not been edited as a whole. The text of the roman only is edited by A. Längfors, SATF (Paris, 1914-19); the texts of the lyrical insertions by E. Dahnk in *L'Hérésie de Fauvel* (Leipzig, 1935). The polyphonic music has been edited by L. Schrade, *The Roman de Fauvel*, PMFC, 1 (Monaco, 1956). See also the facsimile edition by L.F.P. Aubry (Paris, 1907), and the transcript of the monophonic pieces only (together with a facsimile of the whole work) by G.A. Harrison, *The Monophonic Music in the Roman de Fauvel* (unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, 1963). There are 163 lyric pieces altogether, according to Fowler, Appendix 1; Harrison, however, lists only 158.

97. Letter II, for instance, which starts with a rondel, is rather like a Salut in structure. The practice of enclosing songs within a letter is also found in the *Roman de Cassidorus*, where an 8-line lyric strophe is sent with a 6-line salut d'amour, and in the *Dame à la Lycore*, where rondeaux and ballades are exchanged by the knight and the lady. For examples of letters in the form of lyrics see n.48 above. Cerquiglini has a concise general survey of the use of letters in romans and other works on pp.39-47.

98. For a full list of references to this debate, see Cerquiglini, pp.41-47.

99. This tradition is also discussed by Tony Hunt, 'Precursors and Progenitors of *Aucassin et Nicolette*', *SP*, 74 (1977), 1-19.

chanson d'amour', Romania, 38 (1909), 434-41, and discussed by M.D. Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background (Oxford, 1963), p.343. The refrain (Boogaard, refr.806) also occurs in a 5-stanza ballete written in a 14th-century English hand in Gonville and Caius MS.11, corroborating English knowledge of this song. Legge describes in all some 10 songs with Anglo-Norman refrains.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. For Chaucer's references to popular song and for a list of the longer lyric pieces in his narrative poetry, see Appendix B. All references to Chaucer's works, with the exception of *Troilus and Criseyde*, are from *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by F.N. Robinson, second edition (Oxford, 1957).


3. The two songs are (i) "I have of sorwe so gret won", 475-86, rhyming aabba/ccdccd and (ii) "Lord, hyt maketh myn herte lyght", 1175-80, rhyming aabbaa. Of the four textual authorities for the poem, the three manuscripts (Fairfax MS 16, Bodley MS 638 and Tanner MS 346) all give the first song as above. Thynne, however, in his 1532 edition has a sixth line in the first stanza ("And thus in sorowe / lefte me alone") and the second stanza rearranged so that its rhyme scheme matches that of the first (aabbaa). A. Inskip Dickerson argues for the inclusion of Thynne's extra line, but his case is weak (*The Book of the Duchess*, line 480', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 66, (1972), 51-54).


5. For information on the life of Jean and Baudouin de Conde, see *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, edited by A. Scheler (Brussels, 1866-67), I, p.xiii. Wimsatt points out that Scheler's surmise for the date when Baudouin began writing (1240) seems early "since Jean was still writing in 1337, ninety-seven years later." (*Chaucer and the French Love Poets*, p.166, n.1). On Jean de Condé, see Jacques Ribard, *Un Ménestrel du XIVe siècle: Jean de Condé* (Geneva, 1969).


7. See chapter 3 above.

8. See Ribard, pp.354 and 373ff.

9. The text of the refrains in his *Ballades Notées*, Nos.14 and 26 (Chichmaref) are from Adam de la Halle; for musical parallels, see Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, II, GRL, 47 (Göttingen, 1927), pp.104 and 113.


11. See also Gilbert Reaney, 'Guillaume de Machaut: Lyric Poet', *ML*, 39 (1958), 38-51 who writes: "It may well be asked what is to be gained from reading poetry of this artificial kind, in which an unreal code of love provides the majority of themes and where emotion seems at a discount" (p.39).


253


23. See chapter 2, n.64.


25. The narrator’s speeches are also consistently marked with the rubric "L’acteur" in most MSS of these works, suggesting that his was a separate part among several, rather than that he narrated the whole *dit* by himself, a practice also found, for instance, in the MSS of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Le Pelerinage de vie humaine*, edited by J.J. Stürzinger (London, 1893). This use of a narrator may shed light on the passages of narrative found in certain medieval French plays, such as *Le Miracle de Théophile* and *La Résurrection*, which have puzzled scholars considerably. See Noomen’s conclusions on these works in ‘Passages narratifs dans les drames médiévaux français: essai d’interprétation’, *Revue Belge de philologie et d’histoire*, 36/ii (1958), 761-85.


29. See especially the way in which Froissart presents his Marghuerite ballade at the end of the Paradis.


36. This figure is suggested by N.B. Lewis, p.181.


38. See Palmer, p.258. On the other hand, Chaucer was granted a life annuity of ten pounds by Gaunt in 1374, the reason for which ("pur la bone et aagreeable service que nostre bien ame Geffray Chaucer nous ad fait", 13 June, 1374; Life-Records, p.271) has never been satisfactorily explained, and could perhaps be connected with his composition of the Book of the Duchess.


42. Edited by A. Scheler (Louvain, 1882).

43. Chaucer and the French Love Poets, pp.147-49.

44. ‘A Possible Source of Chaucer’s Book of the Duchess - Li Regret de Guillaume by Jehan de la Mote’, MLN, 48 (1933), 511-14.


47. See Robinson's notes, p.773, and also Condren.


52. Tatlock's and Kemp Malone's views are referred to by D.C. Baker, 'The Dreamer Again'.


55. Edited by Hoepffner, I, 57-135.

56. Spearing, discussing Chaucer's apostrophe to death in the Black Knight's first song, notes that apostrophe was "rare in English poetry before Chaucer", and that "Chaucer's source at this point, Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, personifies death but does not apostrophise it" ('Literal and Figurative in *The Book of the Duchess*, Proceedings of the Congress of the New Chaucer Society (1984), p.169 and n.9). However, the practice of apostrophising death was very common in contemporary French poetry (see e.g. Machaut, Motet III, as well as the *Regret Guillaume*, pp.18, 114 and passim.); and was also exemplified by Geoffrey de Vinsauf in his 'textbook' complaint on the death of Richard I (See his section on apostrophe in the *Poetria Nova*, edited by Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XIle et du XIIle siècle* (Paris, 1924; reprinted, 1982), pp.207-10).


59. 'Literal and Figurative', referred to above.

60. For a musical analysis of this *complainte*, see Stevens, 'The "Music" of the lyric', pp.115-17.


62. See *Fonteinne Amoureuse*, lines 539-698.

63. The Knight corrects the Dreamer once more at lines 1115-17.

64. The *Romaunt* (edited by R. Sutherland, *The Romaunt of the Rose* and *Le Roman de la Rose*: A Parallel-Text Edition (Oxford, 1967)), contains passages of dialogue at 4659ff and 6689ff in which characters contradict one another in a similar way to these interchanges in the *Book of the Duchess*. However, individual words are not isolated and corrected as they are here by the Knight.
65. See, for example, Wimsatt, *Love Poets*, p.172, n.6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE


2. Wallace, p.140.


5. Robinson in fact omits one of the Corpus Christi MS rubrics ('Canticus Troili' at III, 1744); B.A. Windeatt on the other hand, silently adds a rubric not in Cp ('Cantus Antigone') at II, 827 (*Troilus and Criseyde: a new edition of 'The Book of Troilus'* (London, 1984)). All references to *Troilus* are from this edition.

6. It is interesting to discover a comparable range of scribal annotation in the 15th-century PARIS Ars. 2741 MS of the *Traduction d'Ovide* where, for example, chanson, fable, nota, example, and proverbe are marked.

7. The fullest recent study of English courtly love lyrics in the 15th-century is by J. Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1985); although her primary interest is in isolable rather than intercalated lyrics, she discusses some examples of the latter briefly on pp.56-58.

8. *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by W.W. Skeat, (Oxford, 1897), VII, *Supplement: Chaucerian and Other Pieces*. For works containing French refrains and mottos see especially 'To my soverain Lady', pp.281-84; 'The Flower and the Leaf', pp.361-79; 'The Assembly of Ladies', pp.380-404 and 'A Goodly Balade', pp.405-07. 'The Flower and the Leaf' and 'The Assembly of Ladies' are also edited by D.A. Pearsall (reprinted Manchester, 1980). The French refrain "Qui bien aime, a tart oublie" (Boogaard, refr.1585) is written in several manuscripts of the *Parliament of Fowls* after the 97th stanza introducing the final roundel (the roundel is complete only in Gg in a late 15th-century hand). Since Chaucer writes "The note, I trowe, imaked was in Fraunce", this refrain has been taken to indicate the tune of the roundel. But as Skeat, Robinson and Brewer have observed, Chaucer's decasyllabic lines could not be sung to a tune which fitted an octosyllabic line. For further references to this refrain, a particularly interesting and rare example of a refrain which doubled as a proverb, and was popular throughout the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, first in France and then also in England, see chapter 3, n.86.


10. For full details of the *Troilus* fragments and secondary references, see the list in Windeatt's edition, pp.75-76; and also the discussion in Robbins, 'Middle English Court Poems', pp.244-64. Chaucer's 'ABC' was set into Lydgate's translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Le Pelerinage de Vie Humaine* (edited by J. Stürzinger (London, 1893)) to replace a French lyric in the original.

12. Written between 1399 and 1413.

13. In generalising about 15th-century interests in French lyrics, I would not wish, of course, to over-simplify the complex reaction of a poet such as Henryson not only to French poetry itself, but also to the way in which it had already (through Chaucer) been assimilated into the English poetic tradition.

14. It is particularly difficult to distinguish in such a case between what is scribal and what is Chaucerian.


16. See also Machaut's *Fonteinne Amoureuse*, and Froissart's *Le Paradis d'Amour* and *l'Espinette Amoureuse*.

17. See also the way in which Chaucer writes of Damy~m in the *Merchant's Tale* (lines 1880-81) that "in a lettre wroth he al his sorwe, / In manere of a compleynt or a lay". Chaucer himself wrote several "compleyntes" (see, for example, the 'Complaint to his Lady' and the 'Complaint unto Pity'); in addition, the 'compleynte' from *Anélida and Arcite* is found separately in five manuscripts (Robbins, 'The Lyrics' pp.318-19).

18. Compare the *Romaunt*, lines 4609-11.


20. This is also pointed out by Wimsatt, 'French Lyric Element', p.21.


23. For a further discussion of Wimsatt's definition of a 'lyric unit' in *Troilus*, see below.


30. Sabatini, p.36.

31. Sabatini, p.38.


33. Wallace, pp.33-34 and note.

34. See *Caccia di Diana*, edited by V. Branca, in *Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, I.

35. See *Filostrato*, edited by V. Branca; *Teseida*, edited by A. Limentani; *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*, edited by A.E. Quaglio, all in *Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, II.


38. The *Harley Lyrics*, written c.1314-25, are in fact closely contemporary with the cantare romances.

39. For a useful and detailed account of the cantari, and for further references, see Wallace, Ch.5, pp.76-90 and passim.

40. *Il cantare trecentesco e il Boccaccio del Filostrato e del Teseida* (Florence, 1936), pp.ix-x.

41. See Wallace, pp.89-90.

42. Quoted in Wallace, p.89.

43. One of Wallace’s main lines of argument (see below) is that the narrative styles of Chaucer and Boccaccio both depend heavily upon popular narrative traditions (the cantari and English metrical romances respectively). While this is true to a certain extent, it seems to me that Wallace overestimates its importance, particularly in relation to Chaucer. See, for instance, the contrary argument in D.A. Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), p.199.


45. It is in these terms ("bourgeois" and "courtly") that Muscatine defines the roots of Chaucer’s poetic style, which he considers to contrast with Boccaccio’s more homogeneous style in the Filostrato (*Chaucer and the French Tradition*, pp.125-32). However, my emphasis on Boccaccio’s assimilation of "courtly" poetic style in Naples qualifies
Muscatine’s contrast between the two poets.

46. See below, n.54.

47. References to the Filostrato are taken from Windeatt’s parallel text edition which uses the text of Branca’s edition.

48. See above, chapter 3.

49. See Filostrato, II, 56; III, 73; IV, 22.

50. See Wallace, p.152.

51. See also Payne, pp.176-77.


53. Other borrowings from Petrarch include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Filostrato</th>
<th>Canzoniere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III, 81</td>
<td>CXXVII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>XIII and LXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V, 55</td>
<td>CXII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII, 30</td>
<td>CLXXXIII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54. Borrowings in Part IV from the Vita Nuova include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Filostrato</th>
<th>Vita Nuova</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV, 28</td>
<td>canzone XXXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>canzone XXXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>sonetto XXXIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>sonetto XXXIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>canzone XXXI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55. The fifth book of Troilus does not start with a proem as such, but with a two-stanza narrative opening in a grand style derived from the Teseida.

56. See, for example: II, 527 (Consolation IV, pr.6); IV, 281-82 (Consolation II, pr.1) and 288 (Convivio, II, 51); IV, 791 (Consolation III, m.12).


61. The incidence of music in the manuscripts of Classical and Late-Classical works disappears after the 12th century (Corbin, p.3); yet as late as the 16th century, a Netherlands translation of the Consolation contains melodies taken from the Psalms for the strophic translations of the metra in Books I-III (Gibson, ed., pp.370-71). The kinds of melody used in the Netherlands translation show a striking continuity with those used seven centuries earlier, since the single Boethian melody that it has been possible to transcribe (see Page, pp.309-11) is also based on contemporary Biblical hymnody.

62. See Dwyer, Boethian Fictions, Appendix II, pp.129-31. The fullest (though not now the most up-to-date) description of the manuscript texts is still to be found in A. Thomas and M. Roques, 'Traductions françaises de la Consolatio Philosophiae de Boece', HLF, 37 (1938), 419-88 and 543-47. For further additions to this list, see two articles by G.M. Cropp, 'A Checklist of Manuscripts of the Medieval French Anonymous Verse-Prose Translation of the 'Consolatio' of Boethius', NQ n.s. 26 (1979), 294-96 and 'Quelques manuscrits méconnus de la traduction en prose de la Consolatio Philosophiae par Jean de Meun', Scriptorium, 33 (1979), 260-67. Dwyer's use of the term 'mixed' to characterise those versions that are in prose and verse is slightly confusing: first for the reason given by J.K. Atkinson in his review of Dwyer's book (Medium Aevum, 47 (1978), 141-45) that certain manuscripts are also 'mixed' in the sense of being compilations of different versions. But in addition, it is confusing to label only the prose-verse versions as 'mixed', when the versions all in verse also make a contrast metrically between the prosa and metra.

63. See Dwyer, Boethian Fictions, pp.69-71.

64. See the detailed description by M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1907), pp.14-32, and the discussion in Dwyer, Boethian Fictions, pp.27-29.

65. Dwyer's description of the ballades as "interspersed between the latter books of the Consolatio and following works" (p.72) is therefore not strictly accurate.


67. Trinity Hall, MS 12, fol.31b. The illustration depicting Musique holding a scroll is on fol.16.

68. For a discussion of the illuminations in the Machaut manuscripts, see F. Avril, Manuscript Painting

69. See fols.90-96b.

70. An excellent example of a poet elaborating the Orpheus metrum with musical commentary, and casting it into a courtly lyric form, is the 15th-century Orpheus and Eurydice by Henryson (The Poems, pp.132-53), which includes a complaint by Orpheus.

71. See chapter 4 above.

72. It is interesting, in this connection, that some of Machaut's own lyrics (including the Lai from the Remède) are themselves interpolated into a recently discovered anon. prose romance of the late 14th century, the Roman de Cardenois. See N. Wilkins, "The Late

73. Walton makes a cryptic reference to other translations of the Consolation, but if they existed, they have not survived: "duerse men pat wondir subtilye, / In metir sum and sum in prose pleyne, / This book translated haue suffyshauntlye" (Prefacio Translatoris, stanza 4; EETS).

74. However, in the context of my argument as a whole, Jefferson’s view that Chaucer shows more rhetorical and metrical care over the metra than over the prosa, is worth noting (Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius (Princeton, 1917), p.41). The question of why Chaucer did not follow Boethius’ structure when he translated the Consolation is raised (although not answered) by C.D. Eckhardt, ‘The Medieval Prosimetrum Genre’.


76. For details of their indebtedness, see Jefferson, pp.89-119 and also Robbins, ‘The Lyrics’, pp.392-93.

77. This is not to claim that Chaucer necessarily knew these particular ‘mixed’ translations. The evidence so far suggests that he only knew Jean de Meun’s prose translation. But these ‘mixed’ versions (Dwyer, Nos.7, 9 and 10) were among the most popular, and survive in more manuscripts even than Jean’s version.

78. See fol.52a.

79. See Jefferson, p.74 and also p.67 for his similar comparison of Troilus III, 1744-64 with the equivalent passage in Boece.


81. In fact, we can find examples of such alteration in the work of 15th-century anthologists, who extracted the Canticus Troili from Book I, for example, and who pieced together two love complaints and a love letter largely from Antigone’s song and Troilus’s first ‘compleynte’ in Book IV. In a sense, then, Wimsatt’s instinct could be described as authentic, although presumably such wholesale reorganization of the poem is not what he had in mind.

82. Another of Wimsatt’s examples must represent a typing error, since in indicating Pandarus’s speech in Book IV, 427-47 (his No.34) as a three-stanza piece, he not only includes a stanza of narrative rather than a stanza of speech (428-34), but also begins with the last line of a stanza, and ends in the middle of a sentence by Troilus rather than Pandarus.

83. ‘The "Canticus Troili”’, p.320.

84. Translations of the Consolation are either from V.E. Watts, or from Chaucer’s Boece.

85. Büchner, ed., p.21; Watts, p.54.

86. See Dwyer’s survey of opinion in Boethian Fictions, pp.20-21.

87. All the books except the last conclude with a metrum. Book I is the only book to
start with a *metrum*, just as Book V is the only one to end with a *prosa*.

88. *Martianus Capella*, edited by A. Dick; *Cosmographia*, edited by Peter Dronke (Leyden, 1978); *De planctu naturae*, edited by N.M. Haring in *Studi Medievali*, third series, 19/i (1978), 797-879. There are two other immediate predecessors to Bernardus in the *prosimetrum* tradition: (i) Hildebert, archbishop of Tours who died in 1133, and wrote *Liber de querimonia et conflictu carnis et animae* and (ii) Adelard of Bath, author of *De eodem et diverso*. See Dronke’s edition, p.10. There is a 13th-century Old French narrative which seems to be based on *De nuptiis*, called *Le Mariage des sept arts* by Jehan le Teinturier d’Arras, edited by A. Lângfors, CFMA (Paris, 1923), in which Musique sings a complete *chanson d’amour* (the other Arts sing only refrains).


90. See, for instance, Watts, p.19.

91. We might also compare the use of the hiatus created by a song within a narrative structure in Adenet le Roi’s *Cleomadés*, discussed in chapter 2.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX


4. For example, I, 469-70, 573, 723, 728, 799, 875; and III, 63, 112, 1049, 1071, 1171, 1240 etc.

5. For other examples, see
   I, 505-07 and 540-44; 655-56
   II, 522; 824-26 and 876-77; 1064 and 1085-92
   III, 1699-1701; 1743
   IV, 825-27; 1170-75
   V, 631-37 and 645-46; 1312-16 and 1422


7. See *Filostrato*, IV, 95.


9. At line 708, R writes in the margin: "How whan Crisseide abed was Pandor comforted Troilus and seide that nyght shuld al be wel and how this Troilus made his prayeres to the goddes to be his helpyng."


11. There is no doubt of this double entendre, for as Renart says, they needed no chaplains, bells or churches, but simply fulfilled their desires:
   Il ne pensent pas a lor ames,
   si n'i ont cloches ne moustiers
   (qu'il n'en est mie granz mestiers)
   ne chaplaines, fors les oiseaus.
   Mout orent tuit de lor aveaus. (224-28).

12. It is notable, too, that Chaucer should surround this lyric high point of the poem with extensive self-deprecating remarks about his ability to render their "felyng" adequately. See III, 1191-97 and 1310-37.

13. Muscatine, p.149.

14. 'Guillaume de Machaut and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*', pp.280-81; Wimsatt’s italics. While the parallel between "desvoiez" and "fled was out of towne", and the use of "vigour" in each is interesting, the others are less convincing: there is no equivalent in Machaut, for instance, for "down he fel!".


17. As McCall points out, Chaucer's borrowing from Boethius here is confirmed by his later reference in lines 22-35 to the *Consolation* II, pr.7, 48-58, 71-76.

265
18. See, for instance, the notes of Robinson and Windeatt.

19. My point here is not quite the same as McCall's, who argues that Chaucer "restores" the Boethian lines used by Boccaccio (II, m.8) "to a place in his own narrative which is comparable to their place in the Consolation".

20. Compare Consolation, III, m.12, 23-26 and 31-33.

21. These lines are not in Boccaccio. As well as their reference to the Consolation I, m.1, 1, they also recall I, pr.1, 1.


25. In fact, Chaucer's poem is closer to Guillaume de Dole at these moments than the Filostrato since it is not narrated in the first-person.

26. The public performance of song by aristocratic ladies is well documented in French romance. For example, Fresne in Galeran de Bretagne, Lienor in Guillaume de Dole, Euriaut in the Roman de la Violette and Marthes in Ysaye le Triste.
APPENDIX A

Indications of musical notation in French narrative works

(i) MSS containing musical notation, in approximate chronological order:

**Les Miracles:**
- BRUSSELS, Bibl.roy.10747
- LONDON, BL Harley 4401
- PARIS, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 3517-18
- PARIS, BN f.fr.986
  - BN f.fr.1530
  - BN f.fr.1536
  - BN f.fr.22928
  - BN f.fr.2163
  - BN f.fr.25532
- LENINGRAD, Public Library Saltykov-Chtchedrine, fr.F.v.XIV,9
- PARIS, BN n. a. fr.24541 (complete notation)

**Le Roman de la Poire:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.24431 (notation is incomplete and damaged)

**Aucassin et Nicolette:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.2168

**Robin et Marion:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.25566 (complete)
- AIX-EN-PROVENCE, Bibl.Méjanes 166 (complete)

**Ludus super Anticlaudianum:**
- LILLE, Bibl.mun. MS 316 (olim 397 and 95, complete)

**Renart le Nouvel:**
- PARIS, BN, f.fr.1581 (one refrain, the rest blank staves)
- PARIS, BN f.fr.25566 (complete)
- PARIS, BN f.fr.1593 (complete)
- PARIS, BN f.fr.372 (complete)

**La Court de Paradis:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.25532 (complete notation)

**Le Roman de Fauvel:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.146 (complete)

**Gracieuse faitisse et sage, Gracieus temps est quant rosier:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.146 (complete)

**Restor du Paon:**
- OXFORD, Bodl.264 (for the single rondeau)

**Remède de Fortune:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.9221: (complete)
- PARIS, BN f.fr.22545 (complete)
- PARIS, BN f.fr.1585 (complete, except for chanson roial)
- PARIS, BN f.fr.1584 (complete)
- PARIS, BN f.fr.1586 (complete)

**Voir Dit:**
- PARIS, BN f.fr.9221 (music for eight songs)
(ii) MSS containing staves only

*Le Roman de la Poire:* PARIS, BN f.fr.2186 (refrains given very large illuminated initial at head of page with staves to the right; staves not drawn in occasionally)

*Renart le Nouvel:* PARIS, BN f.fr.1581 (staves written in, no music except in one case; rubrics for letters)

(iii) MSS containing spaces for staves

*Le Roman de la Poire:* PARIS, BN f.fr.12786 (spaces left between lines of every refrain; spaces left for initials and miniatures - the latter often coinciding with a refrain)

*Le Lai d'Aristote:* PARIS, BN n.a.fr.1104 (double-line spacing; no initials; prose lineation)

*Complainte II:* PARIS, BN f.fr.837 (triple line-spacing above lines of refrain, fol.357)

*Escanor:* PARIS, BN f.fr.24374 (double-line spacing and decorated end stops)

*Cleomadès:* PARIS, BN f.fr.24404 (spaces left between lines of every rondeau; first rondeau has heading 'La canchon')
PARIS, BN f.fr.24430 (double-line spacing for rondes; prose lineation)
PARIS, BN f.fr.1456 (double-line spacing, except for first rondeau and start of second rondeau)
PARIS, BN f.fr.24405 (triple line spacing; illuminated initials)
PARIS, BN f.fr.19165 (double-line spacing for last four rondes, but not for the first three; no initials)

*Méliacin:* PARIS, BN f.fr.1589 (double-line spacing; prose lineation)
PARIS, BN f.fr.1633 (double-line spacing)

*Le Court d'Amours:* PARIS, BN n.a.fr.1731 (spaces left, but inconsistently)

*Robin et Marion:* PARIS, BN f.fr.1569 (double-line spacing, no initials, but abbreviations indicating characters' parts)

*La Prise Amoureuse:* PARIS, BN f.fr.24391 (triple-line spacing and headings; refrain within songs marked out with paragraph sign)
The Songs in Chaucer's Narrative Works

(i) 'Refrains' and references to popular and liturgical song

*Book of the Duchess:*

>'Thou wost ful lytel what thou menest
I have lost more than thou wenest' (743-4; 1137-8; 1305-6)

*House of Fame:*

>'Heryed be thou and thy name,
Goddesse of Renoun or of Fame!' (1405-6)

*Parliament of Fowls:*

>'Qui bien aime a tard oublie'
(written in at 677 in several MSS; Boogaard, refr.1585)

*Legend of Good Women:*

>'The foweler we deffye/ And al his craft' (F138-9; G126)

>'Blessed be Seynt Valentyn,
For on this day I chees yow to be myn,
Withouten repentyng, myn herte swete!' (F145-7; G131-3)

>'Welcome, somer, oure governour and lord!' (F170)
(cf. roundel in *Parliament of Fowls*)

>'Heel and honour
To trouthe of womanhede, and to this flour
That bereth our alder pris in figurynge!
Her white corowne bereth the witnessynge.' (F296-9)

*Canterbury Tales:*

*General Prologue:*

    PARDONER: 'Com hider, love, to me!' (672)

*Knight's Tale:*

>'May, with alle thy floures and thy grene,
Welcome be thou, faire, fresshe May,
In hope that I some grene gete may' (1510-2)
(described as a roundel in 1529)

*Miller's Tale:*

>'Angelus ad virginem' (3216)
'the Kynges Noote'  (3217)

'Now, deere lady, if thy wille be, 
I praye yow that ye whele rewe on me'  (3361-2)

Summoner's Tale:

'Te Deum'  (1866)
(cf. Guillaume de Dole, Renart le Nouvel)

Merchant's Tale:

'Yow love I best, and shal, and oother noon'  (2323)

Prioress's Tale:

'Alma redemptoris'  (518)
(musical notation included in an early MS of one of the
sources of the tale)

Nun's Priest's Tale:

'My lief is faren in londe!'  (2879)
(first line of a 7-line stanza in Trinity College,
Cambridge MS R.3.19)

Parson's Tale:

'Jay tout perdu mon temps et mon labour'  (247)
(also in 'Fortune', line 7; otherwise not identified)

(ii) Longer lyric pieces contained in Chaucer's narrative works and translations
(First lines only)

Book of the Duchess:

'I have of sorwe so gret won'  (475-86)

'Lord, hyt maketh myn herte lyght'  (1175-80)

House of Fame:

Dido's 'compleynte'  (300-10, 315-60)

Anelida and Arcite:

'The compleynt of Anelida the quene upon fals Arcite'  (211-350)
(14 stanzas; written out in form appropriate to a virelai
in one MS. The 'compleynt' is found separately in 5 MSS)

Parliament of Fowls:

'Now welcome, somer, with thy sonne softe'  (680-92)
(13-line roundel; included in full in only 1 MS)
**Boece:**

Ballades 'The Former Age' and 'Fortune'
(inserted after II, m.5 in CAMBRIDGE, UL ii.3.21)

**Troilus and Criseyde:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Rubrics</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, 400-20</td>
<td><em>Canticus Troili</em></td>
<td>Cp, D, Dg, Gg, H1, H2, H5, Ph, R, S1, S2, Th)</td>
<td>Petrarch, <em>Canzon.CXXXII</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>507-39</td>
<td>Troilus’ compleynt</td>
<td>R</td>
<td><em>Filostrato</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>659-65</td>
<td>Oenone’s letter</td>
<td>R, S1, S2</td>
<td>Ovid, <em>Heroides</em> 5, 149ff)</td>
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<tr>
<td>II, 523-39</td>
<td>Troilus’ compleynt</td>
<td>R</td>
<td><em>Filostrato</em>, Boethius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>827-75</td>
<td><em>Cantus Antigone</em></td>
<td>D, H4, H5, Ph, R, S1, S2</td>
<td>Machaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065-85</td>
<td>Description of Troilus’ letter</td>
<td>D, H4, H5, R, S1, S2</td>
<td><em>Filostrato</em> (reduced)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1219-25</td>
<td>Description of Criseyde’s letter</td>
<td>H5, R, S1</td>
<td><em>Filostrato</em> (reduced)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III, 1254-74</td>
<td>Troilus’ invocation</td>
<td>(no rubrics)</td>
<td>cf.<em>Boece</em>, Dante, <em>Par.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1422-42</td>
<td>Criseyde’s <em>aubade</em></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>cf.<em>Filocolo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-70</td>
<td>Troilus’ first <em>aubade</em></td>
<td>R</td>
<td><em>Filostrato</em> (expanded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702-8</td>
<td>Troilus’ second <em>aubade</em></td>
<td>(no rubrics)</td>
<td>no source</td>
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<tr>
<td>1744-71</td>
<td><em>Canticus Troili</em></td>
<td>Cp, D, H4, H5, R, S2</td>
<td>Boethius II, m.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV, 260-336</td>
<td>Troilus’ compleynt</td>
<td>R, S1</td>
<td><em>Filostrato</em>, Boethius, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>742-49; 757-98</td>
<td>Criseyde’s compleynt</td>
<td>H4, Ph, R, S2</td>
<td><em>Filostrato</em>, Boethius, etc.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>828-47</td>
<td>Criseyde's &quot;complexynt&quot;</td>
<td>(no rubrics)</td>
<td>(no source)</td>
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<tr>
<td>958-1078</td>
<td>Troilus' &quot;complexynte&quot; on predestination</td>
<td>H3, Ph</td>
<td>Boethius, V, pr.3</td>
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<td>1175-6</td>
<td>Troilus' departing complexynt</td>
<td>(no rubrics)</td>
<td>Filostrato</td>
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<tr>
<td>V, 217-45</td>
<td>Troilus' complexynt</td>
<td>R (at 197)</td>
<td>Filostrato (see also Filocolo)</td>
</tr>
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<td>295-322</td>
<td>Testamentum Troili</td>
<td>R, S1, S2</td>
<td>Filostrato etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>540-53</td>
<td>Troilus' complexynt to the empty palace</td>
<td>(no rubrics)</td>
<td>(no source)</td>
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<tr>
<td>638-44</td>
<td>Canticus Troili</td>
<td>Cp, D, H1, J, Ph, R, S1, S2</td>
<td>replaces canzone by Cino in Filostrato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1317-1421</td>
<td>Litera Troili</td>
<td>Cp, D, H1, H3, H4, J, Ph, R, S2, Th</td>
<td>Filostrato (rewritten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590-1631</td>
<td>Litera Criseydis</td>
<td>Cp, D, H1, H3, H4, J, Ph, R, S2</td>
<td>Filostrato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1674-1722</td>
<td>Troilus' complexynt</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>cf. Filostrato</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend of Good Women:

*Balade* 'Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere' (F249-69; G203-23)  
(lineated as 3 stanzas in Gg.4.27 and Fairfax MS.16)

Romaunt of the Rose:

'Whanne that I here/ Speken of hym that is so dere' (B2843-50; not by Chaucer?)

Canterbury Tales:

Knight’s Tale:

- Palamon’s ‘complexynte’ (1093-1122)
- Arcite’s ‘complexynte’ (1223-74)
- Arcite’s ‘complexynte’ (1542-71)

272
Clerk’s Tale:

Lenvo de Chaucer: ‘Griselde is deed, and eek her pacience’ (1177-1212)  
(in 6 6-line stanzas)

Merchant’s Tale:

‘Rys up, my wyf, my love, my lady free!’  (2138-2148)  
(from the Song of Songs)

‘Yow love I best, and shal, and oother noon’  (2323)

Franklin’s Tale:

Dorigen’s first compleynt ‘Eterne God’ (865-93)

Aurelius’s compleynt ‘Appollo, god and governour’ (1031-79)

Dorigen’s second compleynt ‘Allas, on thee, Fortune, I pleyne’ (1355-1456)
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276
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282
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